FBIS DAILY REPORT

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BLOC TO SEEK ROMANIAN, SFRY NONATTENDANCE AT LA

LD161732 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1600 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] The Olympic committees of the Eastern bloc states are to hold a meeting in Prague at the end of next week in order to try to persuade Romania and Yugoslavia not to attend the Olympic Games in Los Angeles. This is reported by sources in Prague. Both Yugoslavia and Romania have so far declared that they will take part in the summer Olympics. [Romanian media have not been observed to report on Romanian intentions regarding the Olympics, or on the current Olympics' situation]

SUMMIT TO REVIEW ECONOMIC PROGRAM, SET NEW GOALS

AU161323 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 15 May 84 p 4

[Report of Moscow BTA correspondent Valeri Naydenov: "CEMA: Before the Summit"]

[Text] A CEMA summit will take place in Moscow in June. The main point on its agenda will be the working out of a common strategy of economic cooperation, and strengthening the long-range socialist division of labor.

If we want to compare the summit with similar events in the past we must go back to the 23d special CEMA session in 1969, in which the leaders of the fraternal parties and governments took part. At that time the principled and long-range goals were worked out which later were incorporated into the 1971 Bucharest complex program on further strengthening and perfecting cooperation and developing socialist integration. The facts speak best of the correctness and wisdom of that program. Despite the well-known unfavorable phenomena in the international economic situation, from 1970 to 1980 national income in the CEMA countries increased 66 percent, and industrial production 84 percent. The same figures for the EEC read respectively, 25 and 27 percent.

Having proven its vitality, the complex program will now be adapted to the new situation and goals which the socialist community sets for itself. During the eighties CEMA's European countries are rapidly embarking on the intensive road of development. This is connected with certain production-structural and managerial changes. Capital investments in new construction are decreasing and the new task is to better utilize production capacities. The foreign trade exchange of the CEMA countries among themselves will increase, but it will be even better balanced, in accordance with the national plans of the separate countries.

NATO TO PRESSURE NETHERLANDS TO DEPLOY MISSILES

LD161654 Prague CTK in English 1319 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] Brussels May 16 (CTK correspondent) -- The spring series of NATO sessions which began here last night will provide new opportunities for high NATO officials to exert pressure on the Netherlands which is yet to decide whether it will permit U.S. nuclear first-strike missiles to be deployed on its soil.

After last night's opening session of the Eurogroup formed by defence ministers of European NATO countries with the exception of France and Iceland, British Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine said at a press conference that Holland's refusal to permit deployment might appear to the Soviet Union that Western Europe was weakening its defences. He even claimed that Holland's "no" to U.S. nuclear missiles would delay resumption of disarmament negotiations.

Also U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Richard Burt said at a session of the special consultative NATO group which monitors the deployment of U.S. missiles that a decision of the Dutch Government not to deploy the planned 48 cruise missiles might be regarded as a sign of weakness of the alliance.

Last week, a majority of Holland's population took part in mass protest demonstrations against the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in their country.

The Americans and their loyal NATO allies have no option but to try to convince Holland that the "defence" of Western Europe is not possible without U.S. nuclear first-strike weapons.

ALL NATIONS SHOULD HELP ELIMINATE NUCLEAR PERIL

AU161416 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0920 GMT 16 May 84

["Articles in the Press: 'Steadfast Actions, Realistic Proposals and Initiatives To Dispel the Nuclear Peril' -- Excerpts" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Buchares AGERPRES 16/5/1984 -- In the series on the paramount aims Romania pursues in her foreign policy, SCINTEIA of May 16 carries, under the above headline, another article which reads inter alia: Romania is engaged in the efforts made to dispel the nuclear peril, to build a world without weapons and wars.

Assessing the extremely dangerous situation and tendencies in the continent and the world over following the location of Euromissiles, Romania, President Nicolae Ceausescu threw light on the high responsibility incumbent on all states, on all peoples called upon to make an active contribution to the elimination of the nuclear peril, under these very difficult circumstances. Certainly, the United States and the USSR carry a peculiar responsibility, as the states directly involved in the location of new nuclear weapons, the withdrawal of the ones in place and the talks on freeing the continent from the burden of atomic arsenals. Euromissiles are not and cannot be the exclusive problem of the nuclear powers or of the states where new missiles are stationed or are to be emplaced, but the problem of all states in Europe and throughout the world. In Romania's opinion new missiles, far from being a bilateral issue, are the paramount concern of peoples in all continents, the world over.

European peoples are not only entitled but also duty bound to contribute to reaching adequate agreements on the removal of missiles and a nuclear-free Europe. This accords with the principles and norms of the international law, with each state's imprescriptible right to have its say and take direct part in the settlement of international issues -- all the more so when such problems as the nuclear issue that concerns them and their very existence are directly at stake.

The Romanian programme on ridding the continent of the dramatic threat of new missiles points to the stringent need to resume talks, while halting the location of American missiles and the application of the countermeasures announced by the USSR. It is Romania's firm belief that negotiations are the only rational way to break the deadlock created in Europe. Romania has also emphasized the need to broaden the negotiations on missiles. The active participation of other states, at least the states in the two military alliances -- the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO -- and of other states too in finding a solution is not only a right but also an efficient way to reach durable and solid accords. Advancing such ideas, proposals and measures, Romania, the Romanian head of state consider that other proposals too ought to be considered -- formulated by the socialist states or other states, by various governments -- which may offer positive elements for constructive talks.

DETAILED EXAMINATION OF CSCE PROPOSALS NEEDED

AU161501 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1322 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] Stockholm AGERPRES 16/5/1984 -- Taking the floor during the debates of the Stockholm (?conference), the Romanian delegation pointed out, among other things, that the measures set forth by Romania at the very beginning of the conference, were apt to make an effective contribution to the building of mutual confidence and security among all the European countries, to the diminution of the risk of military confrontation on the continent, to the consolidation of the states' duty to renounce the use or threat of force in mutual relations. Showing that all the known proposals had been tabled initially as working documents, and that they had already been the object of exchanges of views, the Romanian delegation was for an undelayed beginning of a detailed and thorough examination of those proposals, so as to identify their common elements and to negotiate substantive agreements upon that basis. In order to ensure the success of those negotiations, all the proposals should receive equal treatment, they should be examined openly, in a spirit of cooperation and mutual accommodation. The continually deteriorating situation in Europe and the world over, the Romanian representative said, asks for all states to constructively participate in the proceedings of the conference, to show a sense of responsibility and the political resolve required for the urgent covenanting of practical measures to serve all the European nations' common interest in building up confidence and security and providing for their right to disarmament on the European Continent.

USSR MISSILES, REAGAN REMARKS EXHIBIT DEMAGOGY

AU160954 Tirana ATA in English 0940 GMT 16 May 84

["New Measures by the Two Imperialist Superpowers To Enhance the Nuclear Threat -- New Soviet Nuclear Missiles in GDR; Reagan Demands New Funds for 'MX' Missiles" -- ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, May 16 (ATA) -- Referring to a communique released by the Soviet Defence Ministry, the news agency TASS reports that the Soviet Union, in agreement with the GDR, has decided to deploy a new contingent of Soviet nuclear missiles in the East German territory.

In the framework of preserving military equilibrium between them, the two imperialist superpowers are stationing ever more nuclear missile weapons in the "allied" countries, giving a new impetus to the frenzied armament race and enhancing the dangers threatening actually Europe and the world. As it has been reported, Washington has put into readiness the second battery of "Pershing II" nuclear missiles in the territory of West Germany.

It has also been reported that the American President Reagan declared at a press conference that his administration has demanded the American Congress approve immediately a fund of 3.1 billion dollars which are envisaged to be spent next year on the futher development of the program of "MX" intercontinental nuclear missiles.

This feverish warmongering activity, the continuous war preparations of the two imperialist superpowers testify once again to the falsity and the demagogy of the statements on "disarmament" and "peace", that their representatives make in international conferences and forums manipulated by them.

HUNGARY'S LAZAR ARRIVES FOR TALKS WITH FILIPOV

Lays Wreath at Mausoleum

LD161455 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] Gyorgy Lazar has laid a wreath at the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum in Sofia. The chairman of the Council of Ministers arrived in the Bulgarian capital at midday at the invitation of Grisha Filipov, head of government. Gyorgy Lazar is accompanied by Jozsef Marjai, deputy premier; and Istvan Roska, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Leaders Meet Privately

LD161809 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] We begin the international roundup of "Evening Magazine" with a report from Sofia. Our special correspondent, Ivan Betoe, reports on the discussions of Gyorgy Lazar and Grisha Filipov:

Hungarian-Bulgarian prime ministerial talks have gotten underway in Sofia. Gyorgy Lazar arrived in the Bulgarian capital at noon. Among the members of his entourage, the leaders competent in economic affairs are in the majority. Included in the delegation were Jozsef Marjai, deputy premier; Istvan Roska, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Gyula Kovacs, deputy chairman of the Planning Office; deputy ministers in two economic portfolios: that of foreign trade and industry, Janos Ambrus and Imre Szabo. The Bulgarian negotiating delegation, which is headed by Grisha Filipov, head of government, consists of similarly ranking leaders.

In the first round of the afternoon talks, the two premiers held exclusive talks. In the meantime, Jozsef Marjai met Andrey Lukanov, deputy premier, with whom he had the opportunity to conduct an exchange of views most recently in Budapest, just a few weeks ago. Later, every member of the two delegations sat at the negotiating table, at the same one where the Bulgarian Government ususally holds sessions. The two countries' economic cooperation was the center of the discussions. Both sides acknowledged frutiful development, adding that there still are substantial reserves in every sphere. The coordination of the next 5-year plan was discussed, and it also was agreed that henceforth, an increase in Hungarian-Bulgarian trade will be strived for. Reviewing economic cooperation, special attention was devoted to the document which was signed in Budapest by the Hungarian and Bulgarian heads of government just 1 year ago.

Discuss Economic Cooperation

AU161925 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] Sofia, May 16 (BTA) -- The chairman of the Ministerial Council of Bulgaria, Mr Grisha Filipov, and of Hungary, Mr Gyorgy Lazar, expressed their satisfaction with the development of bilateral relations here today. At the talks today they reaffirmed the striving of both Bulgaria and Hungary to find new and more perfect forms of cooperation. It was stressed at the talks that in accordance with the accords reached between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Janos Kadar, the economic relations are developing dynamically. Successful is also the implementation of the basic tasks in the development of the economic and techno-scientific cooperation and of the socialist economic integration between the two countries. Trade is rising at high rates, specialization and cooperation of production are expanding and deepening.

It stressed also that in the best interests of further development of bilateral integration, special attention should be paid to the economic, scientific and technological cooperation in the spheres of mechanical engineering, the electronic industry and micro electronics, in computing equipment, the chemical industry and in other spheres.

There were discussed also topical problems of the international situation.

The Bulgarian party to the talks were represented by the deputy chairman of the Ministerial Council and chairman of the Bulgarian part of the Bulgaro-Hungarian Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation, Mr Andrey Lukanov, the first deputy minister of foreign affairs, Mr Mariy Ivanov and the Bulgarian ambassador to Budapest, Mr Boncho Mitev.

The Hungarian party to the talks was represented by the deputy chairman of the Ministerial Council and chairman of the Hungarian part of the Bulgaro-Hungarian Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation, Mr Jozsef Marjai, the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Mr Riska and the Hungarian ambassador to Bulgaria, Mr Jeno Sebestyen.

Honorary Dinner, Toasts

AU161926 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has given an official dinner at the Lozenets Residence in honor of Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. Present were Chudomir Aleksandrov, Andrey Lukanov, Grigor Stoichkov, members of the Council of Ministers, the officials accompanying the head of the Hungarian Government as well as the ambassadors of the two countries, Boncho Mitev and Jeno Sebestyen. During the dinner, which was held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, Comrades Grisha Filipov and Gyorgy Lazar delivered toasts.

FILIPOV, CUBA'S ESCALONA DISCUSS LEGAL SYSTEM

AU161006 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] On 16 May Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Juan Reguera Escalona, minister of justice of the Republic of Cuba. During their talk Comrade Filipov briefed the guest of the new elements on constructing socialist justice in Bulgaria in the period of developed socialism.

Juan Reguera Escalona stressed that Bulgaria's experience will be utilized in constructing Cuba's legal system.

Svetla Daskalova, minister of justice, and Cuba's ambassador in Bulgaria, Eustaquio Remedios de Los Cuetos, took part in the meeting.

GDR GROUP ATTENDS PLOVDIV FAIR, MEETS KHRISTOV

AU151532 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 May 84 p 3

[Text] Sofia (ADN) -- The GDR Government delegation led by Manfred Flegel, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, met during its visit to the Plovdiv fair with Khristo Khristov, member of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic and minister of foreign trade, for talks on Thursday [10 May].

Both sides noted with satisfaction the conclusion of additional foreign trade accords between the GDR and the Bulgarian People's Republic, whose implementation will help to implement the planned continuous increase in the mutual commodity exchange. On the fair grounds the guests studied the supply of Bulgarian textile and consumer goods as well as foodstuffs, nonessential foodstuffs, and the beverages industry.

In agreement with the cencerted main directions of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries for the period up to 1990 and beyond, which were affirmed during the most recent meeting between party-state delegations of the two countries, headed by Erich Honecker and Todor Zhivkov in June 1983, the two sides attach great significance to collaboration between these industrial sectors.

SECOND WOMEN'S FRIENDSHIP MEETING WITH GREECE

AU160713 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 May 84 p 7

[Report by special RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent Elena Racheva, from the Greek town of Serrai on a Greek-Bulgarian women's peace and friendship meeting held on 13 May]

[Excerpts] This was a day of joyful and bright feelings, stemming from the friendship of Bulgarian and Greek women who joined hands across the border for good-neighborly relations and peace.

On the main street of Serrai thousands of women came toward us carrying slogans, posters, and exlaiming: "No to Cruise and Pershing Missiles!," "No to War!" and "Yes, to Peace!". We were touched by the spontaneous joy and hospitality of the entire town's population and by the common aspiration to preserve the peace of our children and descendants. From a tribune on the square we were greeted by Agamemnon Sotiriu, the deputy mayor of the town at a rally that took place. He appealed to us to erect a granitelike barrier against the menace of a new war. Elena Lagadinova, chairman of the Committee of Bulgarian Women, was greeted by applause and stormy cries of approval when she stated as follows: "The future generations will be grateful to us who have devoted so much effort to this invigorating friendship."

This second border meeting of women from Bulgaria and Greece ended with an expression of friendship and the promise for new meetings devoted to peace.

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES DEPARTING VENEZUELAN ENVOY

AU161819 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, has received Eduardo Morrea Bustamente, Venezuelan ambassador to Bulgaria, in connection with his final departure from the country. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, was also present.

LENART RECEIVES CPSU'S ROMANOV IN BRATISLAVA

LD161216 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1030 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, received Grigoriy Romanov, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Bratislava today. During a cordial and comradely conversation, they talked about the forms and methods of party work in implementing the aims of the economic development of the two countries, while particularly stressing tasks connected with speeding-up scientific-technological development and with improving the system of management. In this connection, Comrades Lenart and Romanov stressed the great significance of Czechoslovak-Soviet economic and scientific-technological cooperation.

[Prague Domestic in Czech and Slovak at 1200 GMT on 16 May in a similar report adds: "The meeting was attended by Milos Jakes, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; candidate Presidium members of the CPCZ Central Committee Josef Haman, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Miloslav Hruskovic, secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, and other comrades."]

Visit Enterprise

LD162145 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1800 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] Grigoriy Romanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and members of his entourage today visited the concern enterprise Tesla Piestany. They were accompanied by Milos Jakes, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CPCZ Central Committee secretary; Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CPSL Central Committee secretary; and other personages. The Soviet guests acquainted themselves with tasks concerning the advancement of electrotechnology and electronics in our republic, with the further possibilities of cooperation with the USSR, and with the development of Tesla Piestany. Comrade Grigoriy Romanov and members of his entourage also took part in a discussion with innovators and other prominent workers of the enterprise about prospects for electronics.

IGLESIAS SPEECH TO INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES

AU160900 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 May 84 p 4

Text] Madrid (CTK) -- Three-day commemorative festivities in honor of the International Brigades from 52 countries whose members helped the Spanish people fight fascism during the civil war in 1936-39 opened in the PCE headquarters in Madrid on Friday [11 May]. Dolores Ibarruri, the legendary PCE chairwoman, and Gerardo Iglesias, the party's secretary general, greeted 70 former fighters of the International Brigades as representatives of all members of the International Brigades. G. Iglesias described the International Brigades' assistance to Spain as an example of international solidarity of progressive forces.

HUSAK, CHNOUPEK CONGRATULATE SFRY COUNTERPARTS

LD161848 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] President of the Republic Gustav Husak has congratulated Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, on his election to this office.

He expressed the conviction that the traditional friendly relations and all-round cooperation between both nations will continue to successfully develop and deepen to the benefit of the Czechoslovak and Yugoslav people in the interests of progress and the preservation of peace in the world.

Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, also sent a telegram of congratulations to Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary of foreign affairs of Yugoslavia, on his election to the office.

SFRY LEADERSHIP SYSTEM, ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

AU161408 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 May 84 p 6

[Article by Julius P. Loerincz: "New People at the Head of State; Important Session of the SFRY Assembly"]

[Excerpts] An important session of the SFRY Assembly -- the highest Yugoslav representative and legislative body -- began in Belgrade yesterday. Today the session will announce the composition of the collective head of state -- the SFRY Presidency.

Every republic and autonomous province (there are two, Vojvodina and Kosovo, both of which are part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia), has its representative in this body, which is elected for a 5-year period. The ninth member of the Presidency is currently Dragoslav Markovic, in his capacity as chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. However, the chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium never holds the post of president or vice president of the SFRY Presidency. The [other] members of the collective head of the Yugoslav Federation alternate in these posts, according to a fixed order, in 1-year intervals. The republics and autonomous provinces elect their representatives themselves so that the composition of the SFRY Presidency is, in fact, known and will only be confirmed and solemnly declared at the session of the SFRY Assembly today.

This practice is quite unique and dates back to an initiative of Josip Broz Tito. However, nowadays it is sometimes being criticized in Yugoslavia that Tito's well-intentioned proposal for a collective leadership of the state's highest body is now mechanically implemented as a model at all levels. The ILUSTTROVANA POLITIKA magazine recently wrote that the 1-year period of office has been turned into some sort of an inviolable political fetish that has begun to be implemented not only where it is necessary, but also where it is not necessary. Comrade Nikola Ljubicic, who for many years held the post of federal secretary of national defense (minister) and is now a new member of the SFRY Presidency, said: "I believe that not all of us have grasped Comrade Tito's idea correctly enough. It seems as though collective leadership and responsibility could be implemented only by way of 1-year periods of office.... I believe that this is not a correct solution. I think that the period of office must be extended." Comrade Ljubicic specified that the present arrangement might continue to apply to some highest bodies and highest posts, but not in communes and some lesser institutions.

The new SFRY Presidency is entering office in a period of an uneasy struggle for the country's economic stabilization, a struggle that naturally also has its political implications. At a press conference in Belgrade last week, Mijat Sukovic, one of the vice presidents of the Federal Executive Council, was very candid in saying that although the process of solving the most serious problems has begun, which is positive, many problems are still open.

Among the pending issues, he singled out the trend of declining productivity and cost efficiency and the clinging to autarky, that is, the tendency of individual republics to seal off their economies.

This year Yugoslavia recevied new large credits from the International Monetary Fund and a consortium of several Western banks, which a part of the Yugoslav press regards almost as the main remedy for the country's economic problems. A far more sober view has been adopted by the weekly KOMUNIST, a press organ of the LCY. In one of its commentaries it notes that in the last 1 and 1/2 years some 30 countries that cooperate with the International Monetary Fund have had to accept very harsh terms of credit and, above all, tighten their belts. In the case of Yugoslavia, this is no different. KOMUNIST writes that there are substantial differences between the terms of the International Monetary Fund and the Yugoslav Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization, differences that will slow down the implementation of this program.

The recent 12th session of the LCY Central Committee discussed these problems in great detail and primarily stressed the need for a consistent implementation of the Agreed upon and approved line of economic policy. A better utilization of the internal reserves of economic growth, structural reconstruction of the economy and its intensification, harmonizing all forms of consumption with the material possibilties, growth of exports, and the country's effective integration in the international division of labor -- all of these are among the basic tasks of stabilization. Yugoslavia's developing cooperation with socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia, can undoubtedly be of substantial assistance in fulfilling these tasks.

STROUGAL TO VISIT SFRY IN 'NEXT FEW DAYS'

LD161828 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal will pay an official friendly visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of Milka Planinc, president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, in the next few days.

CHNOUPEK TALKS WITH TANZANIAN PRIME MINISTER

LD161721 Prague CTK in English 1533 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] Dar es Salaam, May 16 (CTK) -- Tanzanian Premier Salim Ahmed Salim told Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek today he is convinced the two countries will find more openings to further expand their mutually advantageous economic relations.

He gave as a good example of such cooperation the construction of a dramic plant at Morogoro built with Czechoslovak assistance.

Premier Salim Ahmed Salim, who is also foreign minister, informed the [word indistinct] guest of Tanzania's internal political and economic development and the problems of its external economic relations.

Bohuslav Chnoupek, who arrived here on May 14, informed Salim Ahmed Salim of the present results of Czechoslovakia's economic development and reaffirmed the (?interest in) intensifying economic, trade, and scientific-technical cooperation beneficial for the economies of both countries.

Bohuslav Chnoupek was received today by the mayor of Dar es Salaam, Ketuan Konda, at the city's town hall. They exchanged views on the possibilities of development of Czechoslovak-Tanzanian cooperation by promoting friendly contacts between cities.

The Czechoslovak minister also visited the state university in Dar es Salaam.

STROUGAL RECEIVES AUSTRALIAN HEALTH MINISTER

LD161845 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received Neal Blewett, Australian minister of health, in Prague today.

At the meeting they emphasized that in today's complicated international situation the widening of all-round relations between countries of differing social systems is in the interest of the whole of humanity. There are considerable opportunities for the development of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Australia not only in the area of health but also in culture, science, and trade in particular. There are prerequisites on both sides for their intensification which must be fully utilized.

HUSAK MEETS GREEK ENVOY; AWAITS PAPANDREOU

NC162150 Athens Domestic Service in Greek 2100 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak praised President Karamanlis' personality [prosopikotis], while the new Greek Ambassador in Prague Vasilios Elevtheriadhis submitted his credentials today. Husak also said the he looks with great interest to Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou's forthcoming official visit to Prague, whose personality and creative work the Czechoslovak leader admires. Husak also stressed that Papandreou's visit to Prague will constructively contribute in developing bilateral relations.

He concluded that he has a personal interest in meeting with the Greek prime minister. He added that he particularly appreciates Papandreou's initiative for friendship in Balkan states, the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the area, and his keen interest for international detente, and arms limitation.

HUSAK RECEIVES NEW AMBASSADORS 16 MAY

LD161739 Prague CTK in English 1347 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] Prague May 16 (CTK) -- Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak received here Wednesday new Greek Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Vasilios Elevtheriadhis.

In a friendly discussion, they appreciated Czechoslovak-Greek relations and supported their readiness to extend and deepen bilateral cooperation in all spheres.

The Czechoslovak supreme representative also received new Ambassador of the People's Republic of the Congo to Czechoslovakia Frank Gaston Tsikabaka-Lupey. They stressed the identical or similar views of the two countries on main international issues, and agreed that political relations create conditions for an extension of bilateral relations.

New Pakistani Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Zafar Mahmud was also received by the Czechoslovak president. The two representatives stated that Czechoslovak-Pakistani relations have a long tradition, and that numerous positive results in their development were achieved, especially in the economic sphere. This is a realistic basis for further intensification of cooperation, and is a contribution to the efforts at maintenance and strengthening world peace.

ATHLETES' UNDERSTANDING FOR BOYCOTT URGED

AU161226 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 15 May 84 p 8

[Commentary by Vaclav Pacina: "We Are Not Going to Los Angeles" -- uppercase passages published in boldface]

[Text] Last Saturday the decision was reached. Members of the Czechoslovak Olympic Committee [COC], people whose skins and hearts have been penetrated by, and whose youth and ripe age have been filled with sports, met in a large hall on the ground floor of the building of the Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association. They were to make the decision on whether Czechoslovakia will take part in the Olympic games in Los Angeles, a decision that is in a way historic because in the long sequence of Olympic games, our country has been absent only twice -- at the first Olympic games in Athens in 1896 and at the third games in St Louis in 1904. In the first case, our sports public barely guessed what the Olympic games might develop into; in the second case, we simply could not afford the long journey. THE REASONS FOR THE THIRD ABSENCE, HOWEVER, ARE SUBSTANTIALLY DIFFERENT. For a long time the CSSR has been a country of sports. In a number of sports, our athletes are among the top world performers, and our society has long assigned to sports a place in the cultural sphere of life. We can say without exaggerating that we are one of the Olympic nations in the sense that the ideas of friendship, peace, but also great sports feats -- which are capable of elating, exciting, and fascinating us -- are very dear to us.

The Saturday session of our supreme Olympic body had a special atmosphere -- very serious, concentrated, with awareness of the importance of the moment. When Antonin Himl, COC chairman, took the floor, those present were listening to a quite business-like speech, full of facts about what is going on in the Californian city of Los Angeles during the preparations for the games. Of course, they did not come here lacking this information. For many weeks they have been kept informed not only by the press, but also by our coaches and athletes who have already been to Los Angeles, by statements of the USSR National Olympic Committee, and by the 24 April 1984 session of the International Olympic Committee in Lausanne, which acknowledged the justification of the criticism raised. AFTER ALL, IT WAS PRECISELY THE COC THAT AUTHORED A DECLARATION WARNING AGAINST VIOLATIONS OF THE OLYMPIC CHARTER BY THE ORGANIZERS OF THE GAMES IN LOS ANGELES. The justification of this declaration was internationally recognized when the General Assembly of the Association of National Olympic Committees adopted it in January 1983. COC members were following with growing concern the creation of an atmosphere in the Olympic city in which, as the COC statement notes, "the holding of Olympic competitions under equal, honest, and just sporting conditions in the spirit of Olympic ideas is impossible."

At the conclusion of his speech, A. Himl proposed that our athletes not participate in the XIII Olympic games. Our absence is designed to express protest against the misuse of the games. "THERE IS NO COMPROMISE," HE SAID, "WE CANNOT BUDGE. WE WILL SPARE NO EFFORT TO ACHIEVE PURITY AND UNITY OF OLYMPISM. THIS IS NO BOYCOTT, OUR DECISION IS COERCED BY THE SITUATION BEING CREATED IN LOS ANGELES."

The subsequent speakers gave unequivocal support for this position. D. Trpik, chairman of the Track and Field Federation, declared that the content and purpose of the Olympic games are not respected and ensured by the Organizing Committee. He said that the games' atmosphere must be full of safety, security, joy, and the organizers' objective approach to those competing. Z. Belohlavek, speaking on behalf of athletes in the Army, declared that we cannot take part in Olympics that do not respect countries' dignity and do not guarantee the safety of their athletes.

R. Kocek, chairman of the soccer federation, voiced the view that the violations of the Olympic Charter are in line with the imperialist policy of the U.S. Administration and proposed that the organization of Olympic games be entrusted in the future only to states that are capable of ensuring that they are held in the spirit of the Olympic Charter.

All COC members present raised their hands in support of the statement, the penultimate paragraph of which notes the decision not to send Czechoslovak athletes to the XXIII Olympic games in the interest of protecting Olympic ideals and the athletes' safety.

I share the feelings of our athletes, the best of the best, who were to be entrusted with the honor of representing Czechoslovakia under the Olympic banner. There is no doubt that their feelings were mixed, at least in the first moments. So we will not go to Los Angeles! As I know some of them, sport has marked them in every respect. It gives them pleasure and glory, but it also tries and perhaps even tortures them in great and permanent trials. However, at the same time, it shapes in them a remarkable awareness, which might be called a feeling that there should be the same right for everyone. Or, if you so wish, equal conditions of struggle. To put it in very simple terms -- when one is running in the mud, the second should not be using a tartan track, when one pole vaulter uses a bamboo pole, another should not be using fibre glass, when someone is kicking a medicine ball, someone else should not be kicking a soccer ball. Equal conditions also mean the possibility of absolute concentration in the days of the Olympic competition when every athlete is busy struggling with himself. Or should he perhaps, only because he thinks differently of the world and the world order from his rival in the next track, be provoked, subjected to psychological distress, and exposed to the pressure of the surroundings that will use the Olympic premises for actions that run counter to the Olympic spirit of friendship?

The Olympic Charter is a system of wise rules governing the coexistence of young people and nations in sports. It does not demand anything impossible. It can be said that, in a certain sense, it speaks to the people's hearts. In its first article, it states that the goal of the Olympic movement is, among other things, to "SPREAD THE OLYMPIC PRINCIPLES IN ALL POSSIBLE WAYS IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH GOOD WILL AMONG NATIONS." In its third article it says: "DISCRIMINATION AGAINST COUNTRIES OR INDIVIDUALS ON RELIGIOUS, RACIAL, OR POLITICAL GROUNDS IS INADMISSIBLE."

This is the spirit of the Olympic Charter, that bone of contention, that barricade which, through no fault of ours, was erected between the sporting youth of the world. I am sure that this is understood also by our athletes.

OLYMPIC MOVEMENT, NOC'S DECISION DEFENDED

AU161030 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 May 84 p 2

[Ivo Urban commentary: "In Defense of the Purity of the Olympic Movement"]

[Text] Czechoslovakia has always been, and is, profoundly committed to the Olympic ideas and has always played an important role in the development of the Olympic movement. This ensues from the rich traditions of our sports -- let us recall that Jiri Guth-Jarkovsky, a friend and one of the closest collaborators of Pierre de Coubertin, was a founding member of the International Olympic Committee [IOC]. Czechoslovak officials and athletes have always supported the IOC's efforts to strengthen the Olympic movement and have assisted in the struggle for its purity, for the ideas of friendship and understanding among nations.

Our athletes have never been absent from either summer or winter Olympic games. They would not be absent even this time, had the preparations for the 1984 Olympic games taken the same or at least similar course as the preparations for the preceding Olympic games in Munich, Mexico, Montreal, and Moscow. However, the situation in Los Angeles is considerably different.

The U.S. Olympic representatives have from the outset been taking advantage of the fact that Los Angeles was the sole candidate for staging the 1984 Olympic games. Even during the presidency of Lord Killanin, the IOC had to close its eyes to the nonobservance of the Olympic Charter by the American side and make concessions running counter to Olympic traditions. For the first time in their history, the Olympic games are not organized by the city authorities of the venue of the Olympics but by a group of enterpreneurs. Under the headline "1984 Olympics -- Sport or Business?," the American TIME magazine wrote last fall: "So far, capitalism has never been interested in Olympic sports. It is therefore surprising that the Summer Olympic games in southern California will be organized by North American business circles."

The very establishment of three Olympic villages instead of a single one, where the sports youth of the world, according to Olympic traditions, should get to know each other and strike friendships, constituted a clear violation of the Olympic Charter. The regulation that the villages be located in the vicinity of the stadiums and training grounds was not observed, and many other requirements as well were not fulfilled. However, the most serious cracks in the Olympic ideals appeared in the past 6 months, in the most essential matter -- the security of athletes from the socialist countries, against whom a hunt has literally been prepared.

In its basic principles, the Olympic Charter states: "The aim of the Olympic movement is to rear the youth through sports toward better mutual understanding and friendship, and thus to contribute to creating a better and more peaceful world, to spread in all possible ways the Olympic principles in order to establish good will among nations. Discrimination against any country or person on religious, racial, or political grounds is inadmissible."

It is precisely such discrimination that occurred, and still occurs, in Los Angeles. The U.S. Administration is using the games for its political aims. A chauvinistic and downright hysterical atmosphere directed against athletes from the socialist countries has been fanned in the country with the U.S. Administration's consent and support. Numerous reactionary and emigre organizations have become active in Los Angeles and are planning demonstrations and threatening to use physical violence against socialist athletes. They are thereby creating an atmosphere that is miles away from the noble Olympic aims, an atmosphere in which it is impossible to achieve top sports results, let alone live up to the noble Olympic ideas of friendship and understanding.

Incidentally, even Peter Ueberroth, chairman of the organizing committee of the summer Olympic games, had an opportunity to convince himself of this. As we write elsewhere in our edition today, he expressed concern for the security of his family and had to request the American authorities' protection in connection with threats of the reactionary organization "Ban the Soviets".

As Emil Zatopek [former long-distance runner, winner of four gold medals at the 1948 and 1952 Olympics] remarked in an interview for RUDE PRAVO, it is abnormal when athletes are threatened with physical assault and the organizers connive at such threats. "This constitutes a grave violation of the Olympic Charter," our multiple Olympic winner said.

The enterpreneurial nature of the Los Angeles organizing committee opened the doors wide for commercial abuse of the games. There is no doubt that for all participating delegations, these will be the most expensive games in history.

Let us cite only one example -- while during the Olympic games in Moscow journalists paid $18 a day for accommodations in an international hotel, in Los Angeles they will have to pay some $75. "They are making us pay handsome sums for everything," the Austrian sports official Heinz Jungwirth said in the aforementioned article in TIME magazine. The American organizers' profiteering reached its peak with the scandalous commerce involving the Olympic flame, which is without precedent in history. Anyone can carry the Olympic flame, as long as he pays $300 for every 100 meters.

After weighing up all circumstances, above all the fact that the summer Olympic games organizing committee is not capable of ensuring the safety of our athletes, the Czechoslovak Olympic Committee decided not to send our athletes to the Los Angeles Olympic games. It simply could not act otherwise. It decided unanimously. All members of the Olympic Committee realized, however, that the decision is not easy for our sports public and still less so for our athletes, who have been preparing themselves hard and honestly for this supreme sports event. For many of them, this was the last opportunity to take part in an Olympic games. The athlete's safety is, however, the prime condition for this start, the more so at Olympic games.

The Czechoslovak Olympic Committee, by its principled position, took a resolute stand in defense of the purity of the Olympic movement, in defense of the Olympic Charter, against voracious profit-seeking, misuse of the Olympic games for political aims, and against the incitement to hatred and hostility. Taking any other step would be equivalent to digging a grave for the Olympic idea and threatening the future of this great festival of sport, friendship, and peace, which the Olympic games should and must be.

LER ADDRESSES CZECH COMMISSION ON ECONOMY

AU160759 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 May 84 p 2

[Text] Prague, 11 May (CTK) -- The second session of the Czech Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development was held in Prague this Friday [11 May]; it was chaired by Frantisek Stramek, deputy premier of the Czech Socialist Republic [CSR] and the commission's chairman.

The commission dealt with the proposal on improving the system of the planned management of the national economy after the year 1985; the proposal was introduced by Leopold Ler, CSSR minister of finance and chairman of the Government Committee for Issues of Planned National Economy Management. The commission then took note the draft document Basic Problems and Trends of Development of Housing in the CSR up to the year 1995. It also approved the proposal of the CSR Ministry of Trade on elaborating a systematic study of commodities to expand the range of consumer goods and enhance the usefulness and quality of commodities.

ASSEMBLY BODY DEBATES SPARES FOR AGRICULTURE

LD151355 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 15 May 84

[Text] Discussion of the production and supply of spare parts for selected engineering products was the main item on the agenda of today's joint session of the Committees for Agriculture and Food of both chambers of the Federal Assembly. As has emerged from the report submitted and from the ensuing discussion, the volume of supplies of spare parts for agricultural enterprises increased in recent years. However, shortcomings persist as to their range, deputies especially pointed out in the debate, while in the case of imported spare parts, the main problem lies mainly in their late delivery: This is why a new system of organization for their distribution was instituted this year in cooperation with some foreign enterprises. It is reflected in better supplies of spare parts and in turn, in better preparation of machinery for spring operations.

'NEW INTERNATIONALISM' CONCEPT DENOUNCED

AU111820 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 19, 9 May 84 p 3

[Article by Karel Horak: "Lasting Validity of the Principles of Proletarian Internationalism"]

[Excerpts] Since the emergence of Marxism, proletarian internationalism has been an integral part of the scientific world outlook. It explains and expresses the international mission of the workers class, its joint interest and role in the liberation struggle, and mutual relations among workers of different origin and nationality. Its principles represent a system of views and a manual for practical revolutionary activity on the national and international scales.

The importance of proletarian internationalism lies in the fact that it theoretically explains the necessity of international cooperation and solidarity of the proletariat while at the same time showing how to implement this cooperation and solidarity in the policy of the workers class and its parties with a view to achieving final victory. One of the important forms of implementing proletarian internationalism is the joint strategy of revolutionary forces on the international scale and their joint course of action in questions of principle. This is the bequest of Marx, Engels, and Lenin as well as the experience of the international revolutionary workers movement since the founding of the League of Communists to the present day.

He who rejects this bequest of the founders of Marxism, he who claims and forces upon the workers class and its parties the view that internationalism is outdated and that a joint course of action and a joint strategy of revolutionary forces are unnecessary, he either does not see or does not want to see the experiences gained by the workers class in the course of its struggles. Is it perhaps possible to forget to which ends led the renunciation of proletarian internationalism in the theory and practice of the second international and social democratic parties? Or are the consequences of the rejection of proletarian internationalism and of the transition to so-called Eurocommunist positions for the activity of, for example, the PCE perhaps not sufficiently evident?

The distant as well as the recent history of the revolutionary fights of the workers class and its victories as well as its defeats in the complicated and difficult struggle for the social and national liberation of the working people from the domination by the capital, from its colonial and neocolonial rule, convincingly show that the implementation of the principles of proletarian internationalism in the policy of the revolutionary parties and organizations of the working people is an essential prerequisite for attaining partial as well as decisive victories.

A great many examples could be cited that prove this Marxist-Leninist truth, a truth that has passed the test of practice. Could a socialist revolution in a state as ethnically diverse as Tsarist Russia be victorious and could it develop successfully, were it not from its very outset profoundly international and internationally assisted by the proletariat of other countries? Could the first socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere, in Cuba, be victorious and could it preserve this victory, were it not for the internationalist support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and progressive forces in the world? Could the heroic Vietnamese people triumph over the U.S. aggressors without this support? In the same way we could also pose the question whether the socialist revolutions in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other countries would have been victorious without the assistance and support of the USSR and without their mutual solidarity and cooperation.

The answer is known: They would not. In the same way as the Hungarian and Slovak Republics of Councils and revolutionary movements in a number of other countries after World War I were stifled and suppressed by the joint forces of the international bourgeoisie, the victory of socialism in the countries of central and southeast Europe, and in other states, would have also been liquidated by the bourgeoisie. What makes it impossible for the international reaction to implement its plans is, on the one hand, the resolute will of the working people of those countries to liberate themselves from capitalist domination and, on the other, the assistance and support that was granted to their struggle by the Soviet Union and that is now being granted by the entire socialist community.

The history of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, the victory of socialist revolutions, and the process of building socialism in a number of countries of diverse continents have demonstrated in practice, and demonstrate daily, the importance of proletarian internationalism, its lasting validity, and its irreplaceable nature.

The Revolutionary Forces' Unity Is the Foundation of Victory

The crucial importance of proletarian internationalism for the struggle of the workers class, for the international unity of working people, and for the firmness and cohesion of their vanguard -- Marxist-Leninist parties and the international communist movement -- is realized not only by those seeking the victory of progress of socialism, but also by the representatives and ideologues of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian internationalism was, and is, the subject of a sharp ideological struggle. Bourgeois ideology and revisionists are trying in all possible ways to discourage the workers class and Marxist-Leninist parties in particular from implementing its principles. Since the mid-sixties, in particular, hundreds of bourgeois Marxologists and dozens of "scientific" centers have been concentrating on proving that proletarian internationalism lacks an objective foundation, that its content was grossly distorted by Lenin, and that it currently serves the Soviet Union as an instrument of exercising influence over the socialist countries and the CPSU as a means of influencing the international communist movement according to its needs. The authors of those and many other theories do not mind at all that they lie, deliberately distort reality, and spread untruths. The implementation of the principles of proletarian internationalism in the workers and communist movement has never meant, and does not mean today, the subordination of one party to another party or the imposition of some sort of a unequal or nonindependent status on socialist countries. Every communist party is absolutely independent; according to the conditions in which it works, it determines its policy and tactics. The socialist countries, too, are absolutely sovereign, free, and independent.

Marxist-Leninist parties and socialist countries proceed in their activity from a shared ideological premise, the Marxist-Leninist teaching, of which proletarian internationalism is an integral part. This is what unites them and why they have joint basic interests, a joint strategic line, and a joint ultimate goal -- the defeat of capitalism and victory of socialism all over the world.

The struggle for national and social liberation has never been, and is not even today, a matter concerning communist parties and the international communist movement alone.

The fact that, after World War II, the anti-imperialist struggle was intensively joined by new social forces (especially the nations of former colonies) and that members of all classes are taking part in the struggle for peace (which is a significant part of the anti-imperialist movement) is being used by revisionists and representatives of the bourgeois ideology to prove that proletarian internationalism must be replaced by some kind of a "new" internationalism.

In justifying this demand, they argue that these new forces of the anti-imperialist front allegedly do not fit into the concept of proletarian internationalism, that its use might discourage them from participating in the joint struggle, and so forth.

It is only natural that the heterogeneous makeup of the social and political forces taking part in the revolutionary, liberation, and peace struggle requires flexible relations among them and a sensitive approach of the revolutionary vanguard to individual segments of the anti-imperialist front. However, the diversity of forces opposing imperialism does not justify the search for or the formulation of some sort of a "new internationalism" standing in opposition to proletarian internationalism. Quite the contrary. The proletariat's deepening bonds with numerous nonproletarian strata of working people oblige the workers class and Marxist-Leninist parties to deepen and consolidate their class positions. Even under this new situation, proletarian internationalism is the factor uniting the workers class and communists -- that is, the most important revolutionary forces -- with other participants in this struggle. It become thereby -- even at present -- the nucleus shaping broad international anti-imperialist solidarity.

New Slogans -- Old Revisionist Content

Despite the expansion of the sphere of influence of proletarian internationalism, its class essence remains the same. The dissemination of propositions concerning the so-called new internationalism and their assertion in the international communist and workers movement objectively undermines the unity of revolutionary forces and their international cooperation and solidarity. The "new internationalism," which revisionists present as something enriching Marxism, in its consequences leads to the denial of the historical mission of the workers class, the international significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the objective laws of building socialism, and the growing role of real socialism in the present world. Its content is directed against Leninism and the experiences that the revolutionary movement has obtained in the struggle for socialism.

The positions that those who disseminate the theories about a "new internationalism" (the PCI and PCE leaderships, for example, but also some others) are assuming on all basic issues of the present revolutionary process confirm the truth of these conclusions.

The rejection of international assistance to countries threatened by counterrevolution; attacks on the USSR; the denial of a socialist character to the societies that have been built in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and other countries of real socialism; the claim that the "momentum of the October Revolution" has been exhausted; the dissemination of propositions concerning a third path to socialism fundamentally different from that taken by Soviet Communists and working people; giving prominence [vyzvedavani] to NATO; the theory of equal responsibility of the "superpowers" -- all this goes hand in hand with the calls for a "new internationalism." The assertion of these views has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, and it is damaging to the struggle of the workers class and the revolutionary process in the world.

The history and the present of the international communist movement confirm that the attitude to proletarian internationalism has been, and still is, the yardstick of the loyalty of the party of the workers class to the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Those who reject proletarian internationalism also reject other, no less important parts of the revolutionary theory and the policy arising from it. Such is the logic of class struggle, the logic of the struggle for the character of the party of the workers class.

He who embarked on the oblique path of revisionism and opportunism and persists there, inevitably leads the proletarian party to the snares of reformism, no matter how attractive the slogans sound into which he wraps his views and theories. This was demonstrated by the activity of reformists in the social democratic parties at the beginning of the century, by their attacks on Leninism after the Great October Socialist Revolution, as well as by their current attempts to make the communist parties change their character by adopting the so-called Eurocommunism.

The bourgeoisie and its apologists are trying in all possible ways to prevent the development of socialism and to liquidate it in one way or another. The attacks on the theory and principles of proletarian internationalism are aimed at undermining the vital strength of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the internatonal communist movement, and the socialist community, and thus at creating conditions for depriving socialism of the historical initiative, putting it on the defensive, and finally, liquidating it. That is why attacks on the theory and practice of proletarian internationalism are so dangerous, and that is why it is necessary to reject those theories, which pretend to be "new." Yet they are neither new nor original. Old revisionist trash is being presented to the workers class and communist parties in a "new" cloak.

LENIN'S PHILOSOPHY STILL TOPICAL, DEFENDS MARXISM

AU141314 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 May 84 p 3

[Article by Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium candidate member and Central Committee secretary: "The Philosophical Foundation of Principled Policy: 75 Years of Vladimir Ilich Lenin's Book 'Materialism and Empiriocriticism'"]

[Text] V.I. Lenin's philosophical work "Materialism and Empiriocriticism" was published in May 1919. The book's subtitle was "Critical Notes on a Certain Reactionary Philosophy." It represented Lenin's reply to the theoreticians and literary workers from the sociodemocratic camp who, in the name of a "creative development of Marxism," in fact preached ideas alien to dialectical materialism -- the ideas of so-called Machism, of empiriocriticism. "By their deeds," Lenin wrote about them, "they totally renounce dialectical materialism, that means, Marxism. However, verbally they quibble endlessly and try to circumvent the heart of the problem, to cover up their deviation, to set up just one of the materialists in place of materialism generally; they are stubbornly evading a direct analysis of the innumerable materialist statements made by Marx and Engels... This is typical philosophical revisionism, because only revisionists have won deplorable fame for themselves by deviating from the basic views of Marxism and by their fear, or their inability, to frankly, directly, resolutely, and clearly 'dispose of' the views they have abandoned."

But the book was far from being merely a defense of Marxist philosophy against the revisionists of those times. It has become a theoretical instrument of the party of Bolsheviks, as well as representing a comprehensive criticism of the anti-Marxist opinions harbored by the Russian Machists and their teachers abroad; it also summed up the positive exposition of the theoretical foundations of Marxism -- of dialectic and historical materialism, and it proved how truthful and viable they are by quoting the results of science at the end of the last century and at the beginning of this century. Lenin's philosophical work "Materialism and Empiriocriticism" represents an example of a creative approach to Marxism, an example of a party-minded and principled stance in philosophy, in the fight for the scientific world outlook of the workers class, of all truly progressive forces.

-- Why is it that the book which was written 75 years ago and which reacted in a sharply polemical way to the disputes of its times, is still as topical as ever, and also extremely useful in clarifying the basic theoretical stands on the problems of the present? He who has studied Lenin's work will have also found in it the answer to this question.

He will have grasped that the book represents one of the basic cornerstones of the structure we are erecting. If, in the times that are past, the design of this structure has been the target of sharp attacks, then today the sallies are incessantly directed against its realization. Our least mistake or shortcoming is utilized by the adversary for denying all the principles of scientific socialism; the adversary continues to grossly distort and abuse these principles. Perhaps it is imperative and useful particularly at present to go back to the beginnings of the struggle for socialist transformations in the society; to recall the purpose of this struggle, and not to permit any pragmatism or loss of historical perspective. The revolutionary process that is taking place in the world is not predestined; it is the work of epoch-creating forces, whose activity depends on the level of their awareness, of their will, and of their determination to persevere in the fight. One of the most difficult obstacles to be overcome is the "false awareness," that means, the ideologies used for centuries by the exploiting and oppressing classes to fetter the working people's masses and to turn them into the objects of subjection and manipulation.

There is probably no other work that could compare to Lenin's "Materialism and Empiriocriticism" as regards the clear cut, principled, and unambiguous confrontation of two opposed (theoretical, philosophical) world-outlook lines which reflect the historical struggle between the forces of the revolution, progress, and democracy on the one hand, and the forces of reaction, obscurantism, and contempt for the working man on the other hand. In this work Lenin mercilessly tears the mask off those who are obscuring the class antagonisms and conflicts in every day; who, under various pretexts, are stultifying the public; who are disorienting everybody they can, and leading them away from crystallized class positions, from the truthful knowledge of objective reality and of the laws governing its development, and thus also from the fight for the revolutionary transformation of society; and who are preaching skepticism, helpless subjectivism, and apolitical indifference.

After the defeat of the first Russian revolution, the revisionists' services suited the counterrevolutionary reaction very well. With their assistance, it wanted to complete the disintegration among the revolutionary ranks. That is why Lenin did not hesitate to come out with a polemic against the revisionists, why he was not afraid to characterize their attitudes as philosophical renegadism which reflects political betrayal -- both topical and potential betrayal. Historical developments have fully confirmed Lenin's conclusions. Whenever our movement found itself in difficulties, whenever it is necessary to be more resolute in cementing together our forces and in warding off the enemies' attacks, the revisionists attack the revolution from the rear and disseminate capitulationist and defeatist moods, renouncing the ideals and values of the revolutionary struggle. Time and again we have been able to convince ourselves of this in our own country, too -- the last time in the sixties. Then it was the right-wing opportunists in the party who, as soon as they had acquired important positions in the center, opened the gates wide to the counterrevolution. Their rise to power, and the gradual rehabilitation of the various elements that had been silenced for a time by the revolution, were accompanied by -- and depended on! -- the "reevaluation of values," the ideological disarmament, and disintegration. Zb. Brzezinski, one of the leaders of anticommunism, characterized this disintegrating activity as "ideological erosion." Revisionism, which had incited this disintegration, this "erosion," and which nourished it theoretically, was surprisingly not much different from its former exotic varieties; basically, it fully falls under the characteristic defined by Lenin in his work "Materialism and Empiriocriticism."

Where, in particular was this affirmed?

Our own revisionists, too, incantated exorcisms about the "creative development" of Marxism. They constantly quoted the magic formula of this noble resolve and pretended that the further fate of Marxism was dear to their hearts.

They fell in love with socialism to such an extent that they decided to "improve" it at any price -- as became obvious, even at the price of destroying it. They, too, operated with a lowered visor and camouflaged their positions in every way. Life itself had to show that their fight was aimed against Marxism and against socialism. Today they are cynically proclaiming this from Radio Free Europe and from other anti-communist propaganda centers, where they found asylum prepared for them after the defeat of the counterrevolution. However, in the sixties we would have found it hard to find more enthusiastic fighters for the "revival" of socialism. Like their revisionist predecessors whom Lenin had criticized, they, too, acted against dogmatism, and even claimed that they are reverting to the "sources of Marx's doctrine."

But what did their "antidogmatism," their loudly proclaimed return to the sources of Marxism, represent? It was this very position of theirs which proved their entire poltroonery, their falseness and dishonesty -- the basic features cited by Lenin in his "Materialism and Empiriocriticism" as the most typical features of all revisionism and opportunism.

Dogmatism interested them only to the extent that it could act as a camouflage for attacks against the party's revolutionary character and against its principled policy. In the first place, they were concerned with compromising Leninism, and particularly the generalized experience of the CPSU, of our own party, and of other Marxist-Leninist parties which had acquired leading positions in the revolutionary developments in their countries at the head of the working masses, and which had achieved clear progress on the road of realizing the socialist ideal.

The sallies of our revisionists against so-called dogmatism were based on outright falsification and misinterpretations of the revolutionary development in the postwar years -- and particularly of the beginnings of building socialism in our country; they had nothing in common with the criticism of real dogmatism. The revisionists were merely parasites on the criticism of revisionism. They deliberately presented the principles of Marxism-Leninism -- verified by historical development, by the victory of socialist revolutions, and by the striking successes of socialist construction in the countries of the socialist community, which cannot be overshadowed by any difficulties connected with these historic transformations -- as "dogmas" that had allegedly been overcome by history. The revisionists' "anti-dogma" campaign and their vociferously proclaimed "return" to Marx were the cloak covering their endeavor to deny the validity of the laws of dialectics and to reject their objective nature (how indignantly they attacked, for instance, Marxist determinism, which they deliberately vulgarized and then ridiculed!). They, too, replaced dialectics by eclecticism and sophistics (particularly in such important issues as the relationship between the national and the international; between discipline and freedom; between the unity of the society and democracy; between the interests of the state and of the individual; and so forth.)

Second, in their "anti-dogmatism" and in the effort to return to "original" ("authentic") Marxism, our revisionists obviously strove to turn Marxism into a so-called open doctrine. It is imperative, they said, to integrate the "elements of modern philosophies" into the foundations of the theory of Marxism. In order to prevent this transition from Marxism to the bourgeois ideology from becoming merely platonic, they fervently started organizing various symposiums and meetings -- allegedly with the aim of "developing a dialogue" with the "non-Marxist scholars," as they said. However, practice itself mercilessly unmasked them. We can take as an example the revisionist falsification of Marx's understanding of alienation, and the use of the distorted understanding of this significant philosophical and sociological category for calumniating the state of the workers class and the institutions of the political system of socialism, especially the revolutionary vanguard of the workers class -- the Communist Party; and on the other hand their use of this category for reviving and glorifying bourgeois democracy and petty bourgeois individualism, was presented as the model of freedom.

Under the pretext of strengthening the "anthropological character" of Marxism, our revisionists began adopting the abstract idea of humanism, which -- as is known -- serves the bourgeois politicians and ideologists for camouflaging the grossest acts of violence by imperialism and the crimes perpetrated against the people and against whole nations (one of the latest examples of this cynicism was the U.S. invasion of Grenada). This was a total resignation from the real humanism of socialism, the main contents of which lie in the liberation of the working man from exploitation; a total resignation from the shaping of working man as a comprehensively developing personality under the conditions of the system which eliminates private ownership -- the basis of social injustice -- and enthrones the power of the people.

It is one of the greatest merits of Marxism that it explained the historical process of the acquisition of human knowledge as the "battle of parties in philosophy, a battle which in the end expresses the tendencies and the ideology of the hostile classes of modern society. Modern philosophy is as party-minded today as it was party-minded 2000 years ago. In essence, the battling parties are materialism and idealism, even though this essential feature is being camouflaged by new, scholarly-charlatan names or by feeble-minded unpartiality. Idealism is merely a refined, sophisticated, form of fidelism, which is standing fully armed, which has at its disposal enormous organizations, and which is incessantly pursuing its activities in influencing the masses, making use of even the least wavering in philosophical thinking for its own benefit." (V.I. Lenin)

To deprive Marxism of its revolutionary substance, of its revolutionary core -- that was and is the main aim of the revisionists of all hues. Currently they are primarily concerned with "relieving" Marxism of Leninism, which is the Marxism of our era, the era of revolutionary transformations realized in the spirit of scientific socialism from the time of the Great October Socialist Revolution -- an era of mankind's gradual transition from capitalism to socialism. The creation of real socialism -- first in the Soviet Union, and then in a number of other countries; the disintegration of colonialism and the emergence of states liberating themselves from imperialism; the development of mass social movements, insistently demanding democracy and blocking the path of the imperialist expansions which the United States of America is striving to carry out -- all these are processes of historical significance. Their full significance can be grasped only on the adoption of the Marxist-Leninist class view of history, on the adoption of the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Our class adversary is doing everything to frustrate, or at least to make as difficult as possible, the approach to the revolutionary doctrine by the broad masses; to obscure the clear-cut Marxist-Leninist class view of the events of our times; and to cover up the prospect of the historic confrontation between capitalism and socialism. The imperialists spare no means to maintain the broad public in the captivity of opinions and ideas that had been the condition of the supremacy of exploiting classes since time immemorial. The specific task of the revisionists is to give this shameful effort the semblance of being modern and acceptable to the broad strata of working people, and above all the workers class.

For this reason the revisionists must constantly pretend to be interested in the working people and in socialism in general, and endeavor to shift them to the positions of "class conciliation" and "class cooperation" with the ruling forces. Regardless of the means chosen for achieving this goal, it is clear that this disintegrating work can best succeed in places where the door to Marxism-Leninism is firmly closed and where the situation in public opinion is determined by the mass propaganda and agitation means that are fully subordinated to large capital (and in reality to the representatives of the U.S. military-industrial complex; this can be illustrated even by the example of the "neutral" journalism of such a country as Austria, long ago deprived of the ability to make its own decisions about this issue).

The way the United States is meticulously protecting and consolidating its "information imperialism" is also testified to by the attacks launched by the present government of that country against UNESCO, a UN organization whose mission is the free international exchange of cultural values. It is clear that the hostile U.S. attitude toward this institution expresses the general U.S. opposition to such an exchange of spiritual values, and to the peaceful cooperation of nations in general.

In the "most democratic" states of contemporary capitalism, Marxism-Leninism is practically forbidden. In places where deeply rooted tradition (and how long will it last?) is still preventing the absolute exclusion of this scientific ideology from the range of the spiritual life of at least a part of the intelligentsia or of the most mature workers, there the revisionists and opportunists take up their disintegrating task; it is being made possible for them to influence the broadest possible public. Surprisingly, they can complain in this respect neither of a lack of means, nor of any suppression of their activities. Their popularity is even being taken care of by the radio and television companies that are working according to very rigid ideological schedules. It is sufficient to tread softly on the toes of some such person as Mr Djilas, and dozens of millions of people must listen again and again to a whole legend about this renegade, including hackneyed attacks against the Soviet Union, against socialism, and Marxism-Leninism.

This is a truly touching "ideological pluralism" -- from the darkest reactionaries of a fascist or reactionary-clerical hue to the bourgeois liberals and right-wing opportunists up to anarchists, Trotskyites, and Maoists. They all (regardless of whether for dollars, or due to their own muddle-headedness, which can grow, in exceptional cases, into holy zeal) are serving only one single cause -- the disorientation of the public in the basic issues of our times; the fanning of distrust and of hatred toward the people of the Soviet Union, toward the people of our own country and of the other countries of real socialism; and the vilification and persecution of all those who are striving for true progress. Moreover, their role is all the more dangerous and reprehensible since they are confusing all honest people who are longing for peace by assenting to the most shameful lie that is being constantly and persistently spread by American imperialists in order to camouflage their own expansionist military plans and their hegemonist endeavors to revive and eternalize the rule of imperialism over the world -- the lie about the so-called Soviet threat and the threat of communism in general.

Here, too, the seemingly impartial and nonclass approach is playing into their hands -- the approach with which they camouflage their absolute helplessness in grasping and interpreting the key problems of the present; the approach which, regardless of the subjective motivation of their position, is driving them into the camp of those who are organizing "crusades" against the Soviet Union, against the countries of the socialist community, against the revolutionary workers movement. Yes, the kisses they are getting from the enemies of communism and progress must sooner or later give them away.

As the struggle between the two opposed social systems -- between socialism and capitalism -- exacerbates, the irreconcileable nature of the ideologies on which the two systems are based becomes more and more strikingly evident. The ideological struggle will not only not weaken, but will logically deepen and exacerbate even further. This has an objective cause; namely, the main trend of development in our times: The deeper and deeper decline of capitalism (regardless of the starting points that it will find for consolidating its base of civilization) and the development of socialism (regardless of the difficulties which it will still have to overcome, and the reef which it will have to circumnavigate).

The conviction about the historic supremacy of socialism over capitalism is not a matter of some limited fanaticism, as our enemies and their revisionist aids claim, who are particularly prone to succumb to "intellectual skepticism" which they regard in fact as a necessary attribute of "modern thinking."

This conviction flows as an incontrovertible certainty for every person who has adopted the scientific world outlook; that is, dialectic and historical materialism, and who thinks in its categories while at the same time fully identifying himself with the longings and the efforts of all exploited and oppressed masses and with the revolutionary liberation struggle of the workers class, this most progressive social force of our times. The ideal of socialism is the result of the scientific appraisal of historical development and at the same time the moral imperative of the present times, when the exploitation of working people -- and the imperialist oppression of entire nations even more so -- appears to be a totally anachronistic vestige which contradicts both healthy human common sense as well as basic moral norms.

Lenin wrote "Materialism and Empiriocriticism" at a time which favored skepticism; many of his fellow fighters, who lived in unbelievably difficult conditions and were constantly being persecuted and heckled by the seemingly indestructible power of the Tsarist police regime, were driven to hopelessness. However, we could scarcely find a book that is more optimistic or aggressive, or one where the author is so certain of his cause, of the tomorrow for which he is fighting. This is also what makes it so important to study it even now, 75 years after its publication, and regardless of how abstract the philosophical problems dealt with in this book seem to be. Because, when reading this book, one cannot help feeling the invincible force of its scientific knowledge, based on a strictly objective analysis of reality. This analysis does not tolerate any subjectivism or voluntarism. It proceeds from the recognition of the general validity of the objective laws governing development; and it unwaveringly points to the conclusions which fully affirm the historic justification of the fight conducted by the working masses for liberation from all forms of exploitation and oppression, which fully affirm both the logical extinction of capitalism, the last exploiting formation, and the logical birth of socialism, the beginning of the "true history of mankind" (F. Engels).

The unity of scientific and party-minded stands demands a combination of sobriety and of the resolve to take the side of the just struggle and not to stand to the side with crossed arms -- not to be indifferent toward any injustice. Scientific socialism differs from its unscientific varieties, above all, because it does not concede any utopian notions about the future; because it does not build the picture of tomorrow from fantasy or from subjective wishes, but constructs it from objective trends of development, from reality. However, this is not assentation to just any reality. It takes only the side of that to which the future belongs. Our unbreakable conviction of the final victory of the cause of the workers class, of communism, is at the same time incompatible with any vulgarization which describes the revolutionary road as a kind of ceremonious march from victory to victory. Any illusions about the ease of this road always cost a great deal.

Life confirms that the temptations of unprincipled pragmatism -- of failing to see the forest for the trees, of sacrificing something that is essential in the overall perspective for the sake of momentary advantage -- and an advantage that is mostly only an illusory one -- these temptations can be even more fatal. Where would our revolution be, where would we have landed with the program of developing socialism, had our Communist Party not carried out the Bolshevization, had it not mastered Leninism, had it occupied itself primarily with parliamentary squabbling and with acquiring votes at any price, had it succumbed to party wrangling which characterized the political life in the bourgeois republic? All the later endeavors to revive the traditions of social democratism, or of the limited patchwork of reformism which the party had to overcome under Klement Gottwald's leadership in order to be able to fulfill its task in the revolutionary reconstruction of the society, always harmed both the party and socialism. It was only on the basis of a consistent implementation and development of Leninism under the conditions of our development that the party could create and implement the principled policy which corresponds to the basic interests and needs of the working people, to the objective demands of our society's development, and to the tasks of the present and of tomorrow.

Two things must be recalled in this connection:

First, this principled position includes both the strictest respect for national interests, and the awareness of responsibility toward the international revolutionary workers movement.

Here, too, the scientific nature of our ideology plays a role, as does the moral awareness, to which any form of utilitarian egotism is alien. The fact that it is possible to reach socialism only on the path which proceeds from the specific historical conditions and from the real situation of the country in question, from its traditions and needs, can change nothing in the impossibility of socialism -- if it is truly based on science, on generally valid laws -- having a nationally or regionally limited character; in its substance it is, and must always be, in all circumstances, international. The duty of international solidarity in the fight against the common enemy -- is based not only on moral responsibility, but also in this, to quote Lenin, irreversible gnoseological, philosophical prerequisite -- on the Marxist understanding of truth, which precisely distinguishes between subjective and objective truth, between relative and absolute truth.

Scientific socialism does not allow for everybody who proclaims his adherence to socialism to claim his "own," his totally "original" and "independent" [svebytny] socialism, his own "socialist truth," whether for his nation, or for a certain braoder community that is joined, for instance, by cultural history. "Marxists are of the opinion," Lenin writes in his "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," "that Marx' theory is an objective truth; from this there follows only one conclusion: If we follow the PATH of Marx' theory, we will increasingly draw closer to objective truth (without ever exhausting it); if we take ANY OTHER PATH [all preceding words in upper case published in boldface], we can merely arrive at chaos and falsehood.

These are clear words; it is no wonder that those who have a different opinion on this issue, even if from time to time they speak of Lenin with appreciation, nevertheless evade Leninism in every way they can.

Another thing that must be recalled in connection with the principled nature of the policy of a Marxist-Leninist party concerns the militancy of our ideology.

We are right to talk about it, because it is not only an expression of moral commitment, it also follows from the knowledge of objective truth, of the objective laws governing and determining the advance of society. Actually, this knowledge is the result of the ancient struggle conducted by the most enlightened and most courageous people of all times against spiritual obscurantism. The communist world outlook has nothing in common with the intolerant fanaticism of those who believe that providence, or some other supernatural thing, has entrusted them with the mission to save mankind at any price. We know very well from the history of Christianity -- and it is far from being a matter of the dark ancient Middle Ages -- how this intolerance accompanied the furies of the blackest reaction. Social progress and man's freedom have become synonymous with spiritual liberation from this darkness. In our own history this struggle is inseparably joined to the effort to preserve our national existence. We are not forgetting that those who invaded our country after Munich and who resembled, in a Czech poet's imagination, voracious locusts, had carried on their belts the inscription Gott mit uns [preceding three words appear in German] -- God is with us. In fact, their expedition of death had been blessed by the Vatican, and by those who loyally served it in our country.

It would be scarcely necessary to point this out, were it not for the fact that the most humane program as represented by socialism -- and by socialism alone, and not only as a project, but also in realization -- is the target of increasingly sharpening and increasingly numerous and churlish attacks of the forces which have been plotting against man's freedom since time immemorial; moreover, today they are threatening human civilization and culture by a barbarianism which would be brought by the terrible war which they are preparing.

The United States, the country of the Ku Klux Klan, the country which even today has schools which ban the teaching of the Theory of Evolution, the country of the most monstrous manipulation of the human mind and of "brainwashing," the country in which technical advance is coupled with the deepest spiritual obscurantism that enjoys the support and the favors of even the entourage of the head of state -- this country has appointed itself the protector of the freedom and values of civilization and culture. There can be no greater paradox in modern history.

Fortunately, this paradox will become increasingly apparent and untenable as human society continues to develop. "The gendarme of the world reaction," as the world calls the United States, cannot determine the course of history. Mankind's development began its course with the Great October Socialist Revolution, contrary to the imperialists' wishes and interests. This is becoming increasingly obvious as real socialism continues to develop. It is Marxism-Leninism that represents the banner of our times and of tomorrow.

Lenin's "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," which shows by its deep analysis of the pivotal philosophical ideas how revolutionary theory changes into revolutionary practice and how this practice enriches the theory further, how it serves as a reliable compass in the society's basic transformations, belongs among the most telling and most significant documents which testify to this truth even 75 years later.

BRIEFS

HOFFMANN ATTENDS SOVIET EXHIBIT -- An exhibition entitled "Moscow's Inventors and Innovators" was opened in the House of Soviet Sciences and Culture in Prague today. Exhibits from engineering, electrotechnics, electronics, consumer industry, medicine, and other branches confirm the high standard of innovators from the Soviet capital, who during the past 3 years applied in the production process 741 inventions and about 40,000 innovations. The opening of the exhibition was attended by Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council. [Excerpt] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 15 May 84 LD]

SOVIET PRESS SALES IN SLOVAKIA -- The sales of Soviet newspapers and periodicals in Slovakia currently total 481,000 copies annually. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 May 84 p 2 AU]

DANISH ENVOY ENDS MISSION -- Asgar Rosenstand Hansen, Danish ambassador to the CSSR, was received on 3 May by Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR Federal Assembly chairman, in connection with the conclusion of his diplomatic mission. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 May 94 p 2 AU]

ROHLICEK HOME -- Rudolf Rohlicek, deputy federal premier, returned home today from a 3-day working visit in Switzerland. During his visit he held talks about cooperation in developing trade relations between the two countries and some other issues. He also met Klaus Sahlgren, the executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Europe. [Text] [Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 16 May 84 LD]

SECURITY CONCERNS CAUSE WITHDRAWAL FROM OLYMPICS

LD161547 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] The Hungarian sportsmen will not take part in the XXIII summer Olympics. Zoltan Novotniky reports on the session of the Hungarian Olympic Committee.

[Novotniky] The Hungarian sportsmen will not take part in the Los Angeles summer Olympic games. The Hungarian Olympic Committee, which always keeps in view the spreading of the Olympic idea, held an extraordinary session in the Press Hall of the People's Stadium this morning, where Istvan Buda, chairman of the Hungarian Olympic Committee, was the first to stand up and speak. He analyzed the situation that had taken shape, and then, on behalf of the Presidium of the Hungarian Olympic Committee, submitted a draft statement.

[Begin Buda recording] Similarly to the Olympic committees of several countries, the Hungarian Olympic Committee asked the International Olympic Committee and the Los Angeles Olympics Organizing Committee, in April of this year, to do everything so that the sportsmen of the world should be able to compete at the XXIII summer Olympics under equal conditions and in full security. It expressed its hope that the obstacles endangering the Olympics might be averted.

Since then too, the Olympic committees of the socialist countries have advocated that at the Olympics, the conception of peace and friendship between the peoples should be fully asserted, the mud-slinging propaganda campaign against the socialist countries should cease, and undisturbed participation and competition should be really guaranteed for every delegation.

The Hungarian Olympic Committee held a session on 16 May and again reviewed the situation It had to establish, with regret, that the well-intentioned appeals of the socialist countries have not met with adequate understanding. Certain extreme political circles active in the United States of America continue to use the preparations for the competitions for propaganda against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

The Hungarian Olympic Committee shares the concern of the Olympic committees of the USSR and of other socialist countries, and is in solidarity with their decision. It has found that the security of athletes from all countries, and the untroubled course of the competitions, is still not adequately guaranteed. It has therefore decided that the situation that has arisen does not make the participation of Hungarian athletes in the XXIII summer Olympic games possible.

The Hungarian Olympic Committee regrets that it has been forced to decide to stay away in the present circumstances. Expressing the desires of athletes and also of the sport-loving public it reaffirms its commitment to the Olympic ideal, and it will continue to do everything in future to realize the aims of this movement, and to strengthen international sporting links. [end recording]

[Novotnik] Following Istvan Buda's speech the following members of the Hungarian Olympic Committee rose to speak: Judit Tmees, Ference Solyom, Oszkar Barcs, Zoltan Magyar, and Dr Jozsef Keresztenyi.

The Hungarian Olympic Committee then approved the statement.

Retaining Olympic Ideal

LD170934 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0430 GMT 17 May 84

[Press review]

[Text] All the papers publish the statement of the Hungarian Olympic Committee on the decision not to participate in the XXIII summer Olympic games. NEPSZABADSAG, commenting on the statement, stresses: We note with regret that in the shadow of anticommunism, lack of confidence, and suspicion, conditions do not exist for the 1984 Olympic games to fulfill their original function and to be a noble contest among athletes of the participating countries, and a great festival for the friendship of youth.

While retaining the Olympic ideal, we are opposed to forces interested in increasing international tension, and we are against their exploitation of the Olympic games to further their aims. Every sport-loving person sincerely regrets that Hungarian athletes, who have prepared hard and with zeal for the Olympics, cannot participate in the meeting under the circumstances that have arisen.

Hungarian athletes are always ready for friendly contest, in the colors of their socialist homeland, with the youth of countries with a different social structure. We sincerely hope that, as far as the future is concerned, sober-mindedness will prevail and attempts to tamper with the Olympic ideals will result in the failure of provocateurs, and not the failure of the Olympic movement.

FALUVEGI LEAVES FOR PRAGUE COOPERATION TALKS

LD161941 Budapest MTI in English 1741 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] Budapest, May 16 (MTI) -- Lajos Faluvegi, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and president of the National Planning Office, Wednesday left for Prague to meet an invitation by Savatopluk Potac, deputy premier of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and president of the State Planning Committee. Lajos Faluvegi and his counterpart are to discuss questions of economic cooperation and common tasks in connection with preparation of the next plan term.

SZUROS CONVEYS GREETINGS TO PASOK CONGRESS

LD122115 Budapest MTI in English 1733 GMT 12 May 84

[Text] Athens, May 12 (MTI) -- Matyas Szuros, secretary of the HSWP CC, currently in Athens at the head of a Hungarian party delegation attending the first congress of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), has met Dhimitrios Papadoropoulos, chairman of PASOK's Central Supervision Committee. Matyas Szuros forwarded the greetings of the HSWP CC to the congress. The HSWP CC acknowledges PASOK's effort to promote social changes for the good of the Greek people, security and cooperation in Europe, and the restoration of the atmosphere of confidence. The CC is of the view that the Hungarian and Greek people share the love of national independence, democracy and peace. And the developing relations of the two parties prove that ideological differences present no obstacle to the endeavour to solve international problems and protect peace.

The HSWP CC wishes PASOK's first congress every success and assures its support for every effort aimed at security and peace in Europe.

Meets With Papandreou

LD132054 Budapest MTI in English 1704 GMT 13 May 84

[Text] Athens, May 13 (MTI) -- On Saturday Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, leader of PASOK, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement, met Matyas Szuros, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, there to head a Hungarian delegation attending PASOK's first congress.

Returns to Budapest

LD141417 Budapest MTI in English 1032 GMT 14 May 84

[Text] Budapest, May 14 (MTI) -- A Hungarian party delegation, headed by Matyas Szuros, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, has returned from Athens where it attended the 1st congress of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK). Those met the delegation at Ferihegy Airport included Pandelis Oikonomou, Greek ambassador to Hungary.

FINNISH TRANSPORT MINISTER VISITS, SEES LAZAR

LD120953 Budapest MTI in English 1725 GMT 11 May 84

[Text] Budapest, May 11 (MTI) -- Finnish Minister of Transport and Communication Matti Puhakka has paid an official friendship visit to Hungary on the invitation of Communication Minister Arpad Pullai. The talks covered bilateral transport relations and opportunities for expansion, particularly infrastructure reconstruction. Prime Minister Gyorgy Lazar met Matti Puhakka.

Before the official talks, Matti Puhakka took part in a seminar, "Finnish Trail '84," organized by the Federation of Finnish Road Carriers. Matti Puhakka left Budapest Friday.

LOSONCZI, LAZAR MEET WITH NEW ENVOY TO MEXICO

LD122211 Budapest MTI in English 1722 GMT 12 May 84

[Text] Budapest, May 12 (MTI) -- Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, Prime Minister Gyorgy Lazar and speaker of parliament Antal Apro have also held separate meetings with Janos Toth, who is shortly to take up the post as Hungary's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Mexico.

SARLOS RECEIVES JEWISH WORLD CONGRESS DELEGATION

AU161408 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 15 May 84 p 3

[Text] On 14 May, Istvan Sarlos, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in parliament the Jewish World Congress delegation composed of Prof Israel Singer, central director; Dr Gerhard Riegner, cochairman of the governing body; Serge Cwajgenbaum, director of the European branch, and Dr Arthur Schneier, chief rabbi of New York, who arrived in Hungary on the occasion of remembrance ceremonies of the 40th anniversary of the Hungarian Jews' deportation. Present at the reception were Imre Miklos, state secretary, chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs, and Imre Heber, president of the National Representation of Hungarian Jews.

LOSONCZI VISITS BACS-KISKUN COUNTY 16 MAY

LD162152 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 16 May 84

[Excerpts] Pal Losonczi has spent the day in County Bacs-Kiskun. Zsuzsa Ladanyi reports on his program:

During the visit to the Slovak cottage-museum at Kiskoros, Pal Losonczi saw evidence that the people of the nationality faithfully preserve their traditions and foster their culture. After sightseeing, the guest of County Bacs-Kiskun met with leaders of political and social organs at an aktiv in the afternoon. He held a briefing on topical internal and foreign policy issues. In the light of international political and economic relations, he dealt with the most important tasks of internal construction work. Naturally, he also spoke about our economic difficulties and about how we are trying to master them.

From Kiskoros, Pal Losonczi visited the vineyard cooperative in Keszel, which farms 10,500 hectares. Pal Losonczi is getting acquainted with the specialist cooperative in Eperszeg. He will return to Budapest in the late evening.

FURTHER ON DEVELOPMENT OF MACROMANAGEMENT

AU151825 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 12 May 84 p 5

[Istvan Matko article: "Socialist Solutions"]

[Text] As of 10 May, a timetable exists for the further development of the economic macromanagement system: The government passed a decision this week on the state tasks in the process. Although there has only been enough time for one to catch his breath since 17 April [the date on which the MSZMP Central Committee issued a resolution on the further development of the economic macromanagement system], this, too, has brought us closer to seeing clearly what we have to do, in what sequence, and where to improve economic and national performance.

It is less than a month between 17 April and 10 May. The question is: Can one, should one evaluate such a short time? Does it pay to seek an answer to how public opinion, those directly concerned, have received the program of changes, a program that is undoubtedly the most multifaceted and comprehensive since 1968? I feel that it pays to pose these questions and record the moments of the first encounter, because we will derive a political benefit from it in the forthcoming, in all probability, not easy years.

What can be established, first of all, is surely the fact that the program of the further development of economic macromanagement does not begin with some loud gala parade, but with a calm analysis.

It emerges immediately in the course of this that nothing is taking place in our country that is not also taking place in the rest of the socialist countries, in the socialist community: Under the given conditions of national characteristics and socialist construction, they are modernizing, we are modernizing methods of economic activity. In the Soviet Union, experimental economic regulators have been introduced under which several important enterprises are undergoing a trial run, ascertaining, through experimentation, the effect of innovations on their bodies. In Bulgaria, a method for taking better advantage of state property is being sought.

In Czechoslovakia, they are endeavoring to modernize economic regulators, and the GDR also is striving to modernize macromanagement. It is a fact that these endeavors do not copy each other, that they display definite differences in their modalities for a solution. Nonetheless, the common factor inherent in them is the most important, the fact that they are seeking new paths on the more stringent uphill course of the eighties. However, we can also put it this way: A social-economic-political compulsion spurs on all of us to find new sources for growth.

We, Hungarians, too, are a part of this overall picture with our fundamental principles and methods consistently applied since 1957, which are destined -- with the aid of a regulated market, prices proportionate to values, and an institutional system adapted to requirements -- to improve the effectiveness of socialist economic activity.

Perhaps the most important characteristic of our present program stems from all this: It chooses socialist solutions, with economic charges [toltetek], it brings life into, strengthens, and buttresses our fundamental values and achievements. Let us take the topic that has kicked up perhaps far too much dust, that of ownership. It is hardly necessary to explain by now that the further development of the economic marcomanagement system will not take place "with the dilution" of socialist state ownership. Being familiar with the Central Committee resolution [of 17 April] it is entirely clear and indisputable that a change in ownership will not take place at an enterprise if the director is chosen, through a tender, by the enterprise's working people themselves and if they exercise the rights of an employer over him, that the role of the party and the trade union will not weaken if they do not exercise their influence in the old form, but in a form differing from it, yet continue to exercise it on the course of matters, including, if the case arises, on deciding even the most important managerial issues as well. Of course, the new situation does recast the tasks and worries of enterprise party organizations, for which, too, new methods and means will have to be sought. However, this does not affect either the party's leading role and prestige, or the prestige and possibilities earned by the party secretary through his competence and work, who is enjoying respect and esteem at his place of work. In other words, it is hardly possible for the question to arise anywhere whether the party will withdraw from the economy, or not: It cannot withdraw from it.

There is a different kind of polemics regarding which, too, the pciture is quite clear: Our society cannot disavow and, indeed, does not disavow full employment. (It is known that, in the preliminary debate, many people pressed for us to allow room for some unemployment, which would, at last discipline the labor market.) However, does it not entail a contradiction that the regulation unmistakably prescribes for an enterprise to strive for profit and efficiency and put its superfluous men and means (and capital) outside its gate . . . There is no contradiction. The recommendation is realistic, the state bears the obligation for full employment, while the enterprise is obliged to produce the greatest result with the least possible investment (men and resources). All this means that every able-bodied person will find work -- they have ample opportunities for this -- at the least, not always where they have been working to date, at that factory and village and in that profession.

Could this cause certain tensions and shocks also in small individual communities and families? Yes, there is that possibility. However, one must accept this consequence of the necessary structural modifications following elementary requirements of the economy, the reduction and regrouping of personnel. There is no other choice. Are we not witnessing professions being cut back and renascent occupations everywhere in the world? Are we not witnessing the fact that, in areas in which an activity that shows a loss becomes the rule, the situation becomes hopeless -- for those directly employed there and society alike?

It must be recalled: On a European basis, the number of work shifts is at the lowest possible level, even in competitive export occupations! The infrastructure, which would require considerably more people, is backward even for our industrial and agricultural level of development in our country. There is a latent shortage of manpower which cripples the economical operation of certain services as well as that of vital industrial and foodstuff economic subsectors and enterprises. Thus, would it not be one of the most rational goals to rearrange the incentives and fundamental principles of keeping people occupied? There is no doubt that, also in this respect, the 17 April program is consistent with the socialist scale of values and regards the development and interests of the socialist society as having precedence over group and individual interests.

It is also discernible that all this is not a campaign, that it does not take place according to a scenario and for sham results. The Council of Ministers decision on Thursday [10 May] has codefied that which the party resolution proposed: Implementation is to be gradual, at an unconstrained pace, and rational. What can be expected of all this is that our steps, although they will continue not to be free of problems, will follow each other with consideration to reasonable priorities and receptivity.

Of course, not we (alone) regulate the "pace" of the era.... After all, it is a fact that the further new phase of the further development of the macromanagement system began a good while ago. Sometimes quietly and sometimes more noisily, attracting more or less public attention, modifications have taken place and are taking place on their own accord.

This probably indicates that the socialist economic macromangement system on whose development we have been working for over a quarter century -- since 1957 -- is viable because it is of a self-regenerating force.

BRIEFS

TELEVISION AGREEMENT WITH SFRY -- Belgrade, May 15 (MTI) -- Mihaly Kornidesz, president of the Hungarian Television, and Ljubomir Zechevic, director of the Belgrade radio and television, signed a two-year workplan of cooperation in Belgrade Tuesday. The workplan envisages the expansion of relations, with special regard to the exchange of programmes and joint productions. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1748 GMT 15 May 84 LD]

SPANISH NEWS AGENCY TALKS -- Budapest, May 15 (MTI) -- Ricardo Utrilla, director-general of the Spanish News Agency (EFE), paid a visit to Budapest between May 10 and 15 on the invitation of Sandor Burjan, director-general of the Hungarian News Agency, and agreed with him to further expand cooperation. Ricardo Utrilla met Istvan Sarlos, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Janos Nagy, secretary of state for the Foreign Ministry. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1749 GMT 15 May 84 LD]

UK COMMERCIAL DELEGATION VISIT -- Lord Shackleton, chairman of the British East European Trade Council, accompanied by Anthony Hore, the council's director in charge of affairs, visited Hungary on 4-9 May at the invitation of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce. Lord Shackleton held talks at the Chamber of Commerce. He was received by Lajos Faluvegi, deputy premier, chairman of the National Planning Office, Peter Veress, minister of foreign trade, Matyas Timar, chairman of the Hungarian National Bank, and Sandor Demcsak, general manager of the Hungarian Foreign Trade Bank. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 May 84 p 5 AU]

NOC DECIDES ATHLETES WILL NOT ATTEND OLYMPICS

LD171037 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1030 GMT 17 May 84

[Text] Finally some news which has just come in. The Polish Olympic Committee has made the decision not to send Polish sportsmen to the summer Olympic games in Los Angeles.

GLEMP ENDS VISIT TO PARIS, LEAVES FOR ROME

LD171022 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 17 May 84

[Text] Primate of Poland Cardinal Jozef Glemp has ended a 3-day pastoral visit to Paris. After meeting with Archbishop of Paris Jean Marie Lustigier he left for Rome. Among those saying farewell to the primate at Paris airport was Eugeniusz Kulaka, Poland's ambassador to France.

PZPR, CPSU ORGANIZATIONAL COOPERATION MEETING

LD162156 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 16 May 84

[Excerpt] Cooperation between echelons and organizations of the PZPR and the CPSU is developing. At the invitation of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, a delegation of the Moscow Gorkom which includes Secretary Albert Roganov, is in Warsaw on a visit. The Soviet guests looked over the telecommunications equipment production plant, looking at the production of urban telephone exchanges. This year Warsaw's Telkom will be selling the Soviet Union ten of these exchanges.

PPR-SRV SOCIETY CRITICIZES PRC BORDER ACTIONS

AU161328 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 May 84 p 2

[Text] PAP -- In connection with the intensification of serious violations of the SRV border by PRC troops -- these violations have been especially intensive as of 28 April 1984 -- members of the PPR-SRV Friendship Society, who held a symposium to mark the 30th anniversary of the Dien Bien Phu victory by the Vietnamese People's Army, expressed their most outspoken concern over these violations.

The Polish people have always supported the Vietnamese people's heroic struggle against French and U.S. imperialism for independence and liberation. We think that the Vietnamese people have every right to live in peace.

We are decisively against all forms of political, economic, and military pressure applied against the 60-million-strong Vietnam by its neighbor with a population that is several times larger.

Symposium participants agree that a peaceful road of serious and meaningful talks is the road along which all bilateral problems can be solved.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTRY OFFICIAL ON ELECTIONS

LD162204 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] Some aspects of the plans and decisions of the so-called underground with regard to the people's council elections on 17 June have been mentioned in an interview given to PAP by Colonel Stanislaw Stepien of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

He says, among other things, that Western subversive and intelligence centers, particularly their propaganda outlets the Voice of America and, still more frequently, Free Europe, have been disseminating all sorts of listeners' letters. Invented but suitably chosen declarations, appeals, and resolutions have originated in the West or in the circles of the Polish political opposition, calling for a boycott of the people's council elections. In illegally published material, there are calls for various forms of active boycott. The enemies of the state, Col Stepien states, want to return in the pre-election period to the methods and forms of struggle against the authorities that were current a few years ago; they think that taking the road of subversion will be tolerated. All these forces -- distributors, treasurers, liaison people or bookkeepers of the so-called underground, guided by extremists, will not be able to check the course of the election campaign, it is stressed in the interview.

WRONA: BEDNARZ TRIED SELF-MUTILATION NOT SUICIDE

NC161611 Paris AFP in English 1600 GMT 16 May 84

[Excerpt] Warsaw, May 16 (AFP) -- A former underground leader of the banned trade union Solidarity had not tried to commit suicide, but "self-mutilation", in his prison cell, the general director of Polish prisons, Wladyslaw Wrona, said today.

Piotr Bednarz, 34, serving a four-year sentence at the Barczewo prison in northeast Poland, had stabbed himself in the stomach with a round-bladed kitchen knife when he was alone in his cell at his own request on Sunday night.

"It was not a suicide attempt, but a self-mutilation", Colonel Wrona said. "If he had wanted to kill himself he would have cut the jugular (vein)".

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION INTO BARTOSZCZE DEATH

AU161202 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 May 84 p 4

[PAP report: "The Results of the Investigations Into the Road Accident and the Death of P. Bartoszcze"]

[Excerpts] The Regional Prosecutor for Inowroclaw has concluded the proceedings in the Piotr Bartoszcze road accident case, and has decided to discontinue investigations in view of the fact that no crime was found to have been committed.

During the proceedings, it was determined that on the morning of 8 February 1984, an overturned Syrena-Bosto passenger car, registration number BYZ 39-53, belonging to Piotr Bartoszcze, was found on its side in a ditch on the Sojkowo-Radlowek road.

During initial investigations, data was gathered indicating that the car had hit a metal rail on the bridge and slid down the bank into the above mentioned ditch. The absence of any serious damage to the car or traces of blood, indicates that the driver was not hurt in the accident, that he left the car and the vicinity of the accident.

Functionaries of the Citizens' Militia in Inowroclaw and members of P. Bartoszcze's family commenced a search for him. The next day, 9 February 1984, P. Bartoszcze's brother, Roman, came across a single line of footprints in a field near the scene of the accident and found his brother's body by following them.

The footprints were 620 meters from the scene of the accident, leading to the first of a number of above ground well shafts for drainage purposes, which was 80 centimeters high and arched in a curve. The footprints in the field indicated that P. Bartoszcze walked through the field, staggering and falling on the ground, which was muddy, and traces of mud were visible on the dead man's hands, face, and clothes.

It appears from the opinion of an expert from the Institute of Forensic Medicine, reached on the basis of the postmortem and additional examinations that were made of the dead man's organs that the cause of P. Bartoszcze's death was an unfortunate accident. The blood of the deceased was found to have had a considerable concentration of alcohol in it, and in the postmortem the medical expert found that P. Bartoszcze had a chronic inflammation of the cardiac muscle, which together with his state of alcoholic intoxication and the physical strain he had undergone caused him to lose consciousness and consequently fall, face down, into the soil and then suffocate.

The dissemination of false information on this case in the country and abroad by saying that P. Bartoszcze's death was the result of the deliberate activities of other persons is, in the light of the investigations that the prosecutor personally conducted into the case, not in the least justified by any of the extensive material evidence that was gathered. The results of the several-month-long investigation into the death of Piotr Bartoszcze have confirmed initial conjecturers that it was an unfortunate accident.

This incident was "particularly" interesting to the Western press and to subversive radio stations, who reacted to it "immediately."

On 19 February, Radio Free Europe stressed, with reference to "who wanted the death of peasant activist Piotr Bartoszcze," that, "the militia reports that were made available to journalists, try to convince us that his death was an unfortunate accident, that here was yet another drunken young man who was walking down a rural road when he reeled over, fell into a ditch, and asphyxiated in mud."

A stir was caused in its day, by the case of Jaroslaw H. during the street riots of 31 August 1982. He was actively engaged in attacking the security forces in Wroclaw, and attempted to get past a moving unit of militia cars while he was making his escape. It was only thanks to the quick reaction of the driver of one of the cars that a tragic accident was prevented and Jaroslaw H., who was run over, suffered only minor injuries. The Western press then circulated a photograph with the following commentary -- "a man was run down with premeditation." This was supposed to testify to a "cold-blooded murder."

The Polish public has been extensively informed about this kind of incident and of the propaganda campaign used to exploit our country. Such events were always used to serve strictly defined goals -- the undermining of Poland's prestige and proving that Poland is not a legally governed state.

'TRANSCRIPT' OF URBAN PRESS CONFERENCES

8 May

AU161122 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 May 84 p 4

["Transcript" of press conference given to foreign journalists by Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 8 May]

[Excerpts] Sylvia Odoriz, EFE: Following the arrests made in Gdansk and Czestochowa as a result of the 1 May events, could you give the exact number of persons arrested and detained on 3 May?

Jerzy Urban: I can only give the figures for 1 May and 3 May jointly. So far, a total of 325 persons have been apprehended. Of these, 28 persons have been imprisoned for 2 to 3 months, 6 persons have been found not guilty, 2 persons have been acquitted, 2 persons have had their liberty restricted -- in other words they are performing communal work -- and the rest have been fined from Z4,000 to Z20,000. All of these cases were handled by courts under summary proceedings in seven voivodships. Another 100 persons are going to face trial under normal proceedings. I have no figures concerning arrests, probably because no such decision has been made yet. I only know that investigations have commenced concerning 15 persons, but this does not mean that these 15 have been arrested, because they could be persons already in detention or persons who are still in the open. In addition, the courts have sentenced under accelerated proceedings -- the figures I gave before refer to tribunals, in other words institutions actirg under administrative proceedings -- 11 persons to imprisonment ranging from 5 months to 1 year, and 12 persons have either been given suspended sentences, fines, their cases were adjourned, or they were not guilty.

We believe the 3 May celebrations proceeded very ceremoniously and without disturbances. The antisocialist underground appealed for demonstrations, which were meant to be even stormier than the ones on 1 May. There were plans to use Church services all over the country in order to provoke disturbances. In several cities, groups of people ranging from several dozen to 500 tried to create disturbances and tried to drag people coming out of churches into them. Generally speaking, this failed. The overwhelming majority of the faithful went home calmly. Because of this lack of support and because of a lack of reaction from the peacekeeping forces, it was difficult to provoke any disturbances. However, there were attempts at hooliganism in order to provoke the peacekeeping forces. Generally, groups of people attempting this dispersed calmly after orders to do so by the Citizens Militia. The events in Wroclaw were typical. There, following a service in the cathedral which about 6,000 people attended, several hundred people out of this 6,000 tried to provoke the militia, but faced with no reaction from the militia they broke up after 10 minutes.

Larger demonstrations really only occurred in Gdansk, where about 3,000 people took part, and in Warsaw, where about 800 took part. I must add, however, that in Warsaw there were several thousand people attending mass, and the firm majority dispersed peacefully afterwards. In Gdansk water cannon were used to disperse the crowd. There was no friction anywhere and no direct force was used in Warsaw. Therefore the Western press' reports that "the crowds were attacked with truncheons" in Warsaw and that truncheons were used in Gdansk are not true. In Warsaw, as in several other cities, action was limited solely to telling people to disperse and checking the identities of some participants. Because the scale of events was much smaller than on 1 May, the number of persons apprehended was also smaller. Hence, the underground's appeals for demonstrations on 3 May ended in another fiasco. There were fewer incidents and considerably fewer participants than in previous years, and the number of participants in these demonstrations was also insignificant compared to those attending church services, who according to the underground's announcements were meant to initiate street disturbances.

Sonny, ARD Television, FRG: During the 1 May and 3 May events, almost every television team was temporarily detained, or arrested as one speaker said, and their film taken away. Maybe this is a naive question, but I have been in the country for a relatively short time, and I would like to know whether one can always expect this in future.

J. Urban: I cannot answer because I do not know about these events. Issues connected with the work of correspondents are settled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Department of the Press and of Cultural and Scientific Cooperation. That is where these matters should be explained. I can only say in general that whoever takes part in an illegal gathering in whatever capacity, including as a journalist, must be prepared for the consequences of his participation. That is the situation everywhere in the world. Here I have in mind complaints that someone has been soaked with water, and so on. As far as what can and what cannot be recorded is concerned, I have already said that any filming of units of a military nature, including the militia, is covered by an official secret.

Bryan Brumley, AP: Could you tell us if the trials of Pinior and Frasyniuk have started?

J. Urban: Yes. I know that the trial of Frasyniuk started, but then it was stopped and adjourned.

Kevin Ruane, BBS: Going back to the 3 May events, I would like to ask if Minister Urban was present at those events at the same time as the correspondents whom he accuses of reporting false information, or whether he has received his information from absent witnesses.

J. Urban: Next question, please.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: That is quite an important issue because I clearly remember how someone in a blue uniform ran toward me with a raised truncheon on 3 May. If I believed one can trust the minister's statements, I would not have started to escape. But fortunately I did.

J. Urban: I can explain this. I am speaking about the nonuse of force by closed ranks of militia against entire groups of people trying to organize a demonstration or already demonstrating. However, truncheons are the permanent equipment of militiamen and are used by individual militiamen against individual persons everyday in various and numerous situations whenever this is necessary and if it is in accordance with the rules that bind militiamen. Therefore there is no discrepancy between what Mr Bobinski saw and my explanation.

Sipiadez, MTI: May I ask the minister to comment on the Budapest message from the Warsaw Pact countries?

J. Urban: The message was printed in the press of the socialist countries on the eve of the anniversary of the end of the most horrible of wars. I believe this date is symbolic. The message is from the Warsaw Pact countries addressed to the members of the North Atlantic Pact concerning the commencement of multilateral consultations on an interalliance agreement on a mutual nonuse of military force and on the preservation of peaceful relations. This is an important and significant political document, among other things because of its contents. The nonuse of military force and an undertaking not to be the first to use either a nuclear or a conventional weapon quite simply means preserving peace and preventing war. Socialism has ruled out and rules out war as a way of settling international disputes and as a way of settling historic rivalry between sociopolitical formations. This is contained in the principles of the defensive Warsaw Pact and also in the oft-repeated initiatives vis-a-vis the NATO countries. It has been expressed in the Political Declaration by the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee of January 1983, in other words in the so-called Prague declaration, from which the present message stems. In this document the Warsaw Pact states proposed to the NATO states a treaty on the exclusion of force. This proposal was repeated in the June 1983 Moscow statements by leaders of the European socialist countries and in the communique of the April 1984 Budapest meeting of the Foreign Ministers Committee.

The latest Polish-Soviet communique following the visit to the Soviet Union by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, also indicates the importance of this problem. At the first session of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, the foreign ministers of the socialist countries firmly stressed the urgency and need for such an agreement between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and also indicated the possibility for all European states to join in. There is, however, a second angle indicating the importance of this initiative, namely that the message is also important because of the time of its appearance. The tense political situation has become considerably more tense since the deployment of a new generation of U.S. intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe and since the subsequent entry into a new stage of the arms race on the European Continent. Those Western countries which have made their territory accessible for such purposes will carry joint responsibility for this. Therefore it is high time for the NATO political circles to draw conclusions as to the need to renounce the confrontation policy, stop the arms race, and reverse the dangerous development of the situation. It is easier to settle many practical disarmament matters when there is a better international climate. The agreement previously mentioned would therefore be a right step in this direction. We call on the NATO countries to faithfully consider this proposal.

Barber, REUTER: Could you tell us if the government has examined or is examining the possibility of an amnesty for political prisoners in July this year?

J. Urban: It has not. I have nothing to say on this subject.

AFP: Going back for a moment to the 3 May events, how many people were detained, how many released, and how many convicted and with what sentences?

J. Urban: I have already said how many people have been convicted so far under summary proceedings and what sentences they have received. There is no point in giving the number of people detained because some of them have been released and some of them have been given sentences other than imprisonment which I have stated. An insignificant number of people have been sentenced to prison. Most have been fined and then released. You will find the answer to your question in the information I gave earlier.

John Kifner, NEW YORK TIMES: Referring to the indictment presented yesterday concerning the Przemyk case, could you tell us in what way it differs from the original indictment? I am particularly interested in any blame being laid on a militia functionary.

J. Urban: I cannot make a comparison. The militia functionaries have been accused of beating up Grzegorz Przemyk, and the ambulance men have been accused of beating him up in a way that caused death. That is the essence of the legal correction contained in yesterday's report from the Warsaw Prosecutor's Office.

S. Odoriz: Did General Jaruzelski invite K. Chernenko to Poland during his visit to the Soviet Union? If so, could you give us an approximate date?

J. Urban: Yes, he did. The communique printed in the press after the visit says that Konstantin Chernenko gratefully accepted the invitation. However, the date has not been fixed.

If there are no more questions, thank you all very much for taking part in the press conference. Goodbye.

3 May

AU151100 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 May 84 pp 5-6

["Transcript" of press conference given by Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban and Stanislaw Wrona, deputy chief of the Central Prison Administration, to foreign journalists in the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 3 May]

[Excerpts] Jerzy Urban: I would initially like to say a little about the reports that have been sent from Poland, starting with the issue of the lies propagated by REUTER, which are now general knowledge. Let me remind you that this agency reported that the May Day procession in Warsaw lasted only 2 and not 5 hours and that the television falsified the reality by showing the same pictures of the procession over and over again and simulating the course of the procession. This is not, after all, the only lie contained in the REUTER reports. The agency also reported, and here I am quoting from a translation according to PAP, that -- "REUTER correspondent Tony Barbers said that in the port of Szczecin the Solidarity procession, which was made up of 10,000 people, was dispersed by police with batons." This information was also given by Mr Graham of THE WASHINGTON POST who referred to REUTER, and by Mr Kifner from THE NEW YORK TIMES. He also stated that the Warsaw procession was considerably shorter than the authorities said it was and that the television showed pictures of a procession that was previously filmed as being a live transmission. I am referring to this in order to show how these kinds of revelations were circulated, revelations that are immediately duplicated with great eagerness. I am not treating this matter as an incidental one, because it is part of the campaign of slander that is being conducted against Poland, a campaign that falsifies all spheres and aspects of Polish reality. Before 1 May, REUTER reported that the streets and factories of Warsaw and other larger Polish towns were literally flooded with the leaflets of underground organizations belonging to Solidarity calling for the boycott of the official 1 May celebrations. There were, indeed, many of these leaflets. REUTER also said, on the eve of May Day, that "the course of tomorrow's celebrations will be the first test of strength since December for both the authorities and underground Solidarity." And thus, before 1 May, REUTER and the majority of the Western agencies and newspapers were in advance creating the feeling that great demonstrations against the people's authorities were being prepared. REUTER also said that the underground is calling for a boycott. Then REUTER said that the size of the demonstrations and the counterdemonstrations will be a test of the strength of Poland's political forces. In view of this, it is difficult to accept that what REUTER said after the incidents, was some sort of accident or a professional mistake, and not a cosmetic realignment of reality to fit in with the plots that had previously been designed, with a mood that had been created in advance, or with previously presented expectations.

Recently, among the methods that certain Western mass media have used to draw an increasingly glaring picture of what is going on, and one that is directly opposed to the reality in Poland, an important role was played by the revolutions that were made about torturing people in Polish prisons.

For example, I received a letter in April from Mrs Grazyna Staniszewska who described her difficult experiences at the time she was arrested, as well as about the fact that all the people who had been arrested on political grounds and whom she had met, are very ill. Perturbed by this, and, of course, feeling some kind of duty to do so, I asked her to clarify every case in detail, because the point was that every one of these people was very ill and it was essential that they were released because of this.

I want to cite something to give myself a moral reason for saying that all these dramatic appeals, protests, and calls are by nature like political and propaganda appeals. They do not display any signs of humanitarian concern, and when one examines the reality of the situation, it becomes apparent that we have been looking at artificial dramas. Here I have made a special attempt to establish the truth because I was the person Mrs Staniszewska addressed her letter to and felt some kind of moral responsibility to provide her with a reply. However, I later deemed it was not right to send Mrs Staniszewska such a reply in the light of the evidence I came across.

Stanislaw Wrona: Before I go into any detail about our political prisoners and the reports that appear about the way they are treated, I would like to mention a few general matters by way of an introduction. I wanted to say that the prisoners who were sentenced in our country on political grounds numbered 61 at the end of April and that they are all in separate prisons and are set apart from other prisoners. This means that they are imprisoned in separate prisons or parts of the prisons and do not have contact with convicted criminals. Another difference in their treatment is based on the fact that they do not have to work and no one forces them to do so. I would also add that they benefit from religious services in that they can hear mass and confess on Sundays and holy days.

In 1984, 29 prisoners appealed for their sentences to be revoked on health grounds. In seven cases, the medical commissions functioning at prison hospitals appealed to the relevant bodies for these sentences to be revoked without the temporary arrest decision being revoked. As we are already on the subject of medical treatment, without going into great detail I would like to cite some details concerning those who have been sentenced to imprisonment in Barczewo prison because they were taking advantage of its medical facilities or the doctors' time from the moment they entered it, thus from September or August 1983. I will not say here exactly what was wrong with them because to some extent this is a confidential medical matter about which there is no need for us to talk, but I would like to say that...

Jerzy Urban: But this ceased to be a confidential medical matter when the many papers in the West gave precise details of every person's illness in their press.

Stanislaw Wrona: Yes, and here are some examples. [passage omitted listing precise ailments and prescriptions]

Donald Forbes, REUTER: Because it seems to me that you devoted a lot of time today to the issue of journalistic ethics, I would like to ask how you managed to obtain an interview from the REUTER representative for Polish television and why this interview was obtained on a false pretext, why it was distorted and twisted? Was this a simple error, or was it simply and basically a malicious act?

Jerzy Urban: Polish television did not broadcast the interview on the source of the falsified reports that were sent out by REUTER because the REUTER representative refused to give an interview on this subject. Today, this refusal was confirmed by the agency's management. It is obviously not in the agency's interests to clarify its work methods even if lies are being propagated. The Government Press Office agreed to allow a television crew to record this interview despite the fact that you did not want to clarify anything, so that Polish society could find out that the agency's representative does not want to explain anything to Polish television viewers and that he refuses to grant the interview. I would like to take this opportunity to quote an excerpt of REUTER's original report on the Warsaw May Day procession because I forgot to do so earlier:

"Urban said that the extent of the official processions was greater than was expected even in towns where it was raining, and that the celebrations in Warsaw went on for 5 hours. Eyewitnesses in the city say that the ceremonies lasted no longer than 2 hours and that the live television transmission went on for a long time after the processions had dispersed because the same scenese kept being repeated whoing the same crowds. One suspects that the live transmissions from the other towns, including Gdansk, were also repeats."

I took care to make a phone call to Szczecin before I came here for this press conference to ask whether there could have not been a mistake in the reports because a small incident took place near the basilica that did not require the use of force by the militia to disperse the crowds and I wanted to know if this did not by any chance occur within the vicinity of the port and if the correspondent was not referring to the basilica incident which REUTER then exaggerated by adding batons and the fact that this is how the people were dispersed. I was told that this was not the case because the port is on one side of the river or the bay and the basilica is on the other in a completely different part of town and that there was no question of any mistake.

D. Forbes: I would like to make one thing clear, to erase any doubt. The fact is that our representative never agreed with your functionary that any part of this interview, or conversation, could without prior permission, be broadcast on Polish television. I would like to stress this once more. Aside from that, we did not refuse to give an interview, I simply said that I cannot give this interview. However, if you want an interview I suggest you direct your request through the necessary channels. And with reference to Szczecin, then I would like to say that contrary to the information you obtained from your informers -- demonstrations did take place in Szczecin and I will abide by the number of demonstrators we gave, namely 10,000.

Jerzy Urban: Please let us go on to other matters. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the proper body to clarify any likely complaints from correspondents.

Kevin Ruane, BBC: Because you just mentioned the role played by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the work of foreign correspondents, then maybe you could tell us how this affects and fits in with the role your office plays. Then, I would also like to ask how Western correspondents who are invited to your office are supposed to know whether or not they will not suddenly appear on Polish television without our prior knowledge as a result of the visit. My third question is, was it your own idea to arrange to show the interview Mr Forbes gave on Polish television?

Jerzy Urban: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the body that regulates the work of foreign correspondents in Poland. The Government Press Office is one of a number of sources of information, the one that was appointed to report on the work of the government and state administration, as well as to comment on our policies and our moves. I thought, after all, that these things would be known to people who have been working in Poland for some time now. No one is obliged to call or to come and see us. Nor does anyone have to sit under the studio lights and talk into the camera if they really do not want to. Polish television endeavors to register everything that interests it in all sorts of places in Poland. The new press law that was passed rules that the state administration should give people any information that is not a state or professional secret.

Ludwig Thamm, FRG Radio: Minister, you have already spoken about tapes and films and said that the truth should always be recorded on them. I do not know if a tape presents the truth or not. My question is this, I myself was stopped outside the Warsaw cathedral and told to erase the tapes I had recorded. Which rules forbid an accredited radio correspondent to record the events or incidents taking place in Poland.

Jerzy Urban: My answer is -- there are no rules that forbid the recording of any kind of events. However, there are rules regulating the protection of state and professional secrets and it is on the basis of these legislative regulations that legal acts of a secondary level are issued forbidding the filming of military installations or groups, or militarized divisions, I suppose, therefore, that the interference you mentioned could have been connected with a suspicion that you filmed some militia groups.

Ludwig Thamm: Minister, I was referring in this case to an audio and not a video cassette.

Jerzy Urban: I see. I am unable to explain this particular case, but I will give you a general principle to apply to such cases. I am unable to explain the events that occurred because I am not familiar with the details. I would, in view of this, ask you to refer to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to clarify the issue.

Sylvia Odoriz, the Spanish EFE agency: Minister, allow me to ask three questions at once. The first concerns political prisoners. In the light of the controversy over the situation of and the way in which political prisoners are treated in prisons, I would like to ask if the government has considered inviting and allowing international organizations to visit certain prisons, organizations like the Red Cross. I believe that the Red Cross asked this of you over a year ago. That was my first question. My second concerns the number of people who were detained and arrested during the 1 May celebrations. My third is -- how many men were used in the police force to disperse any possible counterdemonstrations?

Jerzy Urban: The government values its cooperation with the International Red Cross very highly. It allowed the International Red Cross to visit and talk freely to those who were interned during the martial law period, as well as to give them assistance, because this was precisely at the time of martial law in Poland. These are normal times now. There is no reason for international bodies to interfere in our internal affairs, which does not mean we are afraid of being visited, or that we have anything to hide. This is more a question that concerns the principles that are generally enforced in normal times. Nor do we believe that it is justified to suppose that things that are contrary to the principles of humanitarianism can go on in Polish prisons, things that the International Red Cross is normally concerned with.

In connection with the attempts that were made to disturb the 1 May celebrations in Poland, the total number of people detained was 686, the greatest number being in Warsaw with 166 persons. As I have already said many times before, being detained is not the same as being arrested. Even now one can expect that a certain, considerable part of these people have been or will be released. However, the majority of them will be sentenced to prison or deprivation of rights by the misdemeanor courts. Some 441 appeals have been made to the courts, and in about 40 cases inquiries are being made as to whether the Penal Code was broken. The prosecutor will, depending on this, decide to press charges or not. It is still too early to project what they will rule or to relate it. It may be that some of the cases have already had a court hearing especially regarding the summary courts.

There will be no reply to the third question.

Sylvia Odoriz: How many militia men?

Jerzy Urban: No, there will be no answer to that.

Christopher Bobinski, THE FINANCIAL TIMES: Three questions. First -- what are the results of the Chinese economic delegation's visit to Poland? Second -- could you give an assessment of the university elections and say whether the minister of education has objected to the election of any rector? Third -- would it be possible to pay a visit to Barczewo since there has already been a previous visit to a penal insitution and since we will never settle the matter of penal institutions because two different pictures of life inside them has emerged?

J. Urban: The Chinese economic delegation, chaired by Prof Zhu Rongji, vice minister of the PRC State Economic Commission, visited Poland from 19 to 26 April. This visit was an expression of the growing relations between both countries, especially in the economic sphere. Trade relations are involving economic cooperation and industrial coproduction to an increasingly greater extent. This signifies a return to the wide and constructive cooperation in these spheres that existed in the fifties and beginning of the sixties. At that time, Poland helped the PRC with the construction of a series of industrial plants. Right now, however, we are concerned with modernizing a series of existing industrial plants, and that was the subject of the talks. A protocol stemming from the talks was signed on 25 April; it defines the scope of the cooperation. The premises covered in the agreement are, above all: bus factories, sewage farms, vegetable oil refineries, glassworks, factories producing sweets, factories producing fodder ingredients, and several others. In addition, the agreement foresees the inclusion of additional industrial premises to be modernized with Polish help at a future date. The point is to establish under the new conditions those spheres where an increase in economic cooperation and industrial coproduction is possible.

An assessment of the elections? It is still too early for that. They are still under way. But I will confirm the preliminary assessment that I have already made, whereby the elections are proceeding normally and usually successfully. Yes, there has already been one case where the minister has objected to the appointment of a rector. There are also cases where the appropriate ministers have determined that some electoral action is a breach of the law or of the university statute. Since the principle of partnerlike talks, and of an exchange of legal opinions is adopted in such cases and a suitable form of procedure established, based as much as possible on consultations with the state administrative authorities and academic authorities, I will not discuss these issues because this would make it difficult to solve them through joint discussion and through a joint seeking of suitable solutions.

S. Wrona: As I have already said, the speeches made by those imprisoned in Barczewo are clearly political in nature, and I am sure there is no need to hold a press conference for them in Barczewo. I believe such a press conference would itself be political. But there are institutions in Poland such as the Polish Red Cross and others that could check whether the prisoners conditions are humanitarian.

David Ensor, ABC News: I have two questions. The first concerns the fact that during the demonstrations, or rather counterdemonstrations [on 1 May], we noticed a large number of militiamen and security service functionaries taking photos. I wonder if the number of persons in detention will increase because of those photos. Will it not be necessary to increase this number? That is my first question. The next one concerns what you said about the new press law. You said that the law places the authorities under an obligation to give information to journalists and allow them to arrive with their equipment, cameras, and so on. I would like to know if the new law is opening up for us Western correspondents some new possibilities of attending official or government events, or of collecting information in some completely new way.

J. Urban: I can reply to the first question as follows: I assume that such photographic documentation constitutes evidence. That means that representatives of the peacekeeping forces try to photograph violations of the law in order to be able to provide proper evidence thereof before courts. Will people who have not been caught red-handed or against whom there is proof of criminal activity still be arrested? It always happens that if investigating bodies have evidence that someone has committed a crime, they take pains to ensure that he answers for it in accordance with the law.

I wish to reply to the second question as follows: Your assumption is correct. All the privileges given to journalists by the new press law, which becomes valid in the middle of the year, apply without distinction to all journalists in Poland, whether Polish or foreign. These privileges include an absolute right to gather all kinds of information that is not restricted. This of course does not mean that the law forces state offices to invite to a meeting every journalist who desires restricted information and is entitled to it.

An AFP correspondent: Two questions. First, why have the 11 persons from the Workers Social Self-Defense Committee and Solidarity, who are under temporary arrest, had no right to receive visits for 15 days, more or less, and why are they being denied this right? Second, what is the present number of people in detention, arrested, and convicted for political reasons?

J. Urban: Why they do not receive visits? I do not know.

A voice from the hall: Why exactly do these 11 persons under temporary arrest have no right...

J. Urban: I have already said I do not know why that is.

S. Wrona: We do not know anything about why they have no right to be visited.

J. Urban: The second question concerned the current number of prisoners convicted for political reasons...

S. Wrona: I have already said that the current number of people convicted and in prison for political reasons is 61, and the number of those under temporary arrest is 411.

Sylvia Odoriz, EFE: What day are the above figures based on?

S. Wrona: 30 April 1984.

AFP correspondent: There is a great secret surrounding those prisoners in Rakowiecka Street. We know from many sources that neither their families nor their lawyers have been allowed to visit them for 2 weeks and various contradicting reasons are given for this. If you cannot answer our question, where can we obtain the answer?

J. Urban: I suggest you write that terrible torture is being inflicted on them because they have not been visited for 2 weeks.

C. Bobinski: I wonder if the Central Administration of Penal Institutions would object to the introduction of the status of political prisoner.

S. Wrona: It would. Why? First of all, the prisoners meant to be accorded these exceptional rights number 61 at the moment, and this is a group of people, let me say this clearly, that has acted against the system of the PPR deliberately, consciously, and in a very dangerous way. They have also had the intention of overthrowing this system. So there are no political reasons why this group should be privileged. Second, there are considerably larger groups of prisoners who deserve such a status more because of their conduct and also because of the nature of their offenses. I have in mind for example those sentenced for unpremeditated offenses. For example, someone causes a road accident through carelessness, in which a death occurrs. He is imprisoned. Does he not merit special treatment even more when one takes into account psychological and other factors? Apart from this, I do not know why people are demanding political prisoner status in Poland when such a status does not exist anywhere in the world. There is no separate political prisoner status in the West and outside Europe. The legal-comparative investigations that the Ministry of Justice's Institute of Research Into Court Law has carried out have shown that no such distinction is made. Therefore I do not understand why 61 persons in Poland should be given the separate status of political prisoners. Besides, no prison administration, neither in Poland nor in the United States, the FRG, nor France, could afford to grant separate treatment and separate regulations to prisoners, regardless of how they are behaving and why they are in prison. Every prison administration will defend itself in this respect, for after all the essence of a prison sentence is a prisoner's correction, or at least an understanding that he has behaved incorrectly. Good conduct should always be and has always been preferred and rewarded, whereas bad conduct must be punished in accordance with the rules. I believe these factors determine why political prisoner status is senseless.

Robert Strybel, Polish emigre press in the United States: You must know about the various letters that have been sent from prisons. The colonel has spoken about security cells. One letter described some unventilated and dark cell. Can you deny that cells are like that? And second, could you give an example of a menu in a normal prison, one that is compulsory and not special?

S. Wrona: There are no such cells in Polish penal institutions. Security cells are cells of specified construction. They are soundproofed, and have a natural inflow of air and light. They are additionally ventilated and are under almost constant medical supervision. That is all I can say on this subject. As far as the second question on menus is concerned, I see no reason to provide an example. Those of you who have visited our penal institutions and seen the kitchens were in a hurry to find out what a prisoner's menu looks like. I only wish to say that a prisoner who is working receives 3,400 calories, one who is not working receives 2,600 calories, and all may purchase food articles whether they are working or not. In addition, they may receive food parcels for the money they earn or have deposited.

CONDITIONS OF, TROUBLES WITH POLITICAL PRISONERS

AU150743 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 May 84 p 2

[Statement by Colonel Henryk Skolik, deputy head of the Central Administration of Prisons: "Neither Names Nor Views Determine the Conditions of Imprisonment"]

[Excerpts] There are at present 61 persons legally convicted of political offenses who are serving their sentences in four prisons, in which they are separated from common criminals. Colonel Henryk Skolik has told us about the condition of their imprisonment in one of those prisons -- in Barczewo, Olsztyn Voivodship:

There are nine persons in Barczewo serving their sentences for political offenses. As soon as they arrived in the prison they were acquainted with the regulations of their imprisonment and with the different treatment of political prisoners, including freedom from compulsory work in line with ILO Convention 105. They just have to look after their own premises. It is true that they can work if they want to, but so far none of the 61 prisoners has chosen to work.

The nine prisoners in question are lodged in cells for two or three prisoners, which are provided with the basic plumbing and sanitary facilities, including running water. The size of the cells satisfies the norms in force.

The prisoners are allowed to see their relatives once a month for 1 hour in a special room across a small table with no barrier between them. A prison guard is present. They are also allowed to see their lawyers at any time in the same room without a prison guard. Depending on their conduct, prisoners may see their relatives more than once a month for longer than an hour. They may write four letters a month. Depending on their conduct, they may write more than four letters a month, which is a form of reward for good behavior.

From the very beginning of their imprisonment in Barczewo the prisoners have been able to attend the masses celebrated by the prison chaplain and to hear the weekly masses beamed by Polish radio. For a time the masses within the prison itself have been suspended because prisoners have demonstratively used the masses to disturb order. The chaplain has also been replaced. The new chaplain, who was appointed by the appropriate bishop, celebrated his first mass on 23 April.

The Barczewo prison's hospital facilities provide the necessary hospital care for internal diseases and surgery, as well as general and specialist medical facilities for outpatients. Although we have personnel difficulties, none of the prisoners has any problems obtaining medical advice. It has to be said that on occasions the political prisoners in Barczewo make it difficult for medical personnel to do their jobs. Those prisoners at times disregard medical diagnoses and assume improper attitudes toward physicians.

It goes without saying that all the facilities provided for prisoners may be withdrawn or suspended. In line with prison regulations, the prison administration has the right to reward or punish. Punishment includes reprimands, restrictions on seeing relatives and writing letters, restrictions on purchases of goods, and other measures. Punishment can be inflicted for period of 1 to 3 months. The necessity to ensure order and security in prisons makes it possible in certain cases to place a prisoner in an isolated cell under conditions prescribed by regulations. It has recently been necessary to use that kind of punishment in individual, specific cases.

I would like to stress, that that punishment has not been meted out in every case warranted by circumstances and regulations. The prison administration has resorted to it in particularly drastic situations when, for example, talks with prisoners have proved useless. We have records to confirm that. Prisoners violating prison regulations have been punished for every fifth such offense or even rarer than this.

The Barczewo prison is not a special prison. The imprisonment conditions here are similar to the conditions in many other prisons. However, in contrast to the Barczewo political prisoners, the political prisoners in the three other prisons stick in most cases to the rules of order and discipline.

The disciplinary measures applied in Barczewo are merely an unpleasant and inevitable result of various manifestations of the negative behavior of the prisoners who violate regulations and are often outright provocative. Those measures must be used because of the elementary requirements of discipline and order, which must be kept in a prison. They have nothing to do with the names and views of the prisoners.

LORANC ON IDEOLOGY, CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

AU151350 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 9 May 84 pp 4, 7

[Article by Dr Wladyslaw Loranc, director of the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Department: "A Condition for Effective Combat"]

[Excerpts] The three consecutive sessions of the PZPR Central Committee -- the 12th, 13th, and 14th sessions -- were concerned with various aspects of the party's ideological activities, while the 13th plenum was exclusively engaged in an analysis of the ideological-political situation and, defining the party's tasks in this sphere, it drew our attention to the ideological front's role and duties both in the internal party educational work and its social activities in the widest sense of the term. This confirms the party leadership's great efforts to attach appropriate significance to ideological work in order to prepare the entire party in a better way for the ideological struggle that is being waged in Poland and the whole world.

One could say that every day of ideological work, and above all, of internal party training, was dedicated to aiding the party to rebuild its strength and ability to perform daily organizational functions in helping the country emerge from the crisis, in its struggle with the political opponent, and in overcoming the internal reasons behind the weaknesses we are faced with.

We have achieved much, but the situation is still a difficult one. It is worsened in a calculated way by the organized forces of the antisocialist underground and the volunteers who are party to it. Indeed, we are here concerned with commentators of the current activities of the counterrevolutionary forces that are being supported by the West. They have three foremost goals: First -- the boycott of democratic reforms, which is now being focused on attempts to boycott the elections by refusing to take part in political affairs, with the exception of participating in the kind of affairs that can be exploited in the fight for the opposition's goals. Second -- the development of these forms of antisocialist propaganda, forms that have a permanent influence on the younger generation. Third -- multiplying economic difficulties and exploiting them as a pretext for setting working people at odds with their state by making them reluctant to work well and obscuring the connection that exists between goods production and the economic ability to satisfy material needs.

This is, from the beginning to end, a fruitless negation, for there is a lack of any kind of constructive proposal, while every slogan betrays a hatred of socialism and the intention of extending the Polish crisis for as long as possible without taking the social consequences into account. In this poisoned state of servility to the West and contempt for the country's achievements, these people even praise the policy of sanctions imposed on Poland, a policy that costs us billions of dollars. This is the extent of our mental and moral downfall. It is not enough to see and understand this -- it is necessary to fight against this daily and consistently.

The tasks that were defined in the open war against the political opponent do not exhaust our list of duties. There is a sphere of more complex relations that maps out for us tasks that are, above all, educational and ideological and in politics it maps out controversial goals. This sphere is represented by religious relations in Poland, particularly everything that stems from state-church relations.

Churches and religious unions are developing their religious and charitable activities under the conditions of the socialist system and within a defined legislative and political order. By working under such conditions, they do not have to restrict their religious or charitable mission work. But the opponents of socialism are doing their utmost to persuade the church to perform its religious functions in a way that would hinder the progress of socialist changes and check the process of the economic and social emancipation of the workers class and the working peasants, despite the fact that it is precisely in this process that the most profoundly humanistic sense of the system finds an expression. The point is simply to cause a collision between the Catholic Church in Poland and the socialist state. The unequivocal significance of these intentions requires us to abandon any attempts to clericalize social affairs that are a threat to the country, it requires us to consistently prevent the exploitation of faith and religious institutions for the sake of goals and activities that strike at the constitutional legal order, the socialist state, and the principles of its policies.

The PPR is and will remain a secular state, based on the principles of freedom of conscience and religion, as well as on the separation of the church and the state. We are and will continue to consolidate the conditions that favor the dissemination of values -- through the education system and the mass media -- in culture and education that are the scientific basis that enables man to create his view of the world. Our own historical experiences and that of many other nations, convince us that this is the only right road to take. It prevents the extension of religious differences into political divisions, which would antagonize social affairs.

All these truths must be recalled, explained, and we must, above all, recruit supporters to our position in order to prevent any harmful divisions from arising.

The main condition for the success of the offensive launched by the National PZPR Conference is the continued consolidation of the party.

During the bitter political battle, the party defended its Marxist-Leninist nature and defeated opportunist-revisionist and dogmatic factions, both of which stem from the lack of skill in resolving real political problems, as well as a great fear of spontaneously arising moods. Burdened with such a tendency, the revisionist becomes smug, accepts changing social moods without criticism, and tends to accept and elevate everything to the level of the theoretical principles of socialism, just in order to earn some fleeting popularity. A dogmatist, on the other hand, escapes from the imperfect reality, shuts himself up in sects, hides behind quotations that are treated like slogans, and dreams of creating irreproachable ideals in one fell swoop out of social affairs and the workers class by influencing social consciousness with the strength of administrative orders and repression.

In other words, revisionism sows disbelief in the ranks of the party and the workers class. It negates the class struggle, supports the free play of political forces, abandons the battle over the scientific view of the world, and displays its reluctance toward the class-based politics of the workers' state as well as the principle of the party's leading role.

Dogmatism rejects the political compromise and cooperation with people who have different social views, it rejects a clash of views within its own party, and treats Marxism not as a creative social science but as a collection of formulas and orders.

Both these tendencies, the revisionist and the dogmatic, undermine the party's ideological, political, and organizational unity. They harm the party in its pursuit of definite resolutions to complex social problems and they weaken its ties with the masses, but, at the same time, they weaken the masses' conscious activeness in the process of socialist construction by checking their maturing process on the road to their political role and tasks.

A Leninist-type party has the duty to shape social consciousness, and, above all, to introduce socialist consciousness into the ranks of the workers class, shape mature attitudes, disseminate knowledge of its own program and policies, and win social support for them.

The above tasks will not be resolved if the entire party's efforts are not directed at ensuring the Marxist a responsible position in our country's intellectual affairs. We reject the principle of pluralism in the sphere of politics, and respect the fact that there are many world outlooks in the sphere of social consciousness, which does not mean that in our view Marxism-Leninism is simply one of many theories, because in the ideological sphere the above principle does not signify an absence of ideology or the presence of passiveness. We could not consolidate the decisive role of the workers class in our social life without winning the kind of status for our theory that would befit the historical vocation of the workers.

The experiences that we gained in the struggle to overcome the political and economic crisis before December 1981, as well as the later experiences we obtained in our difficult work to control the social, political, and economic results of the crisis, prove that the influence of the workers class on the entirety of social affairs depends, above all, on the party's implementation of its leading role in the country's affairs.

CC MEMBER LABECKI ON WORKERS' MOODS IN GDANSK

AU151300 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 12 May 84 pp 1, 5

[Interview given by Jan Labecki, worker in the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk and PZPR Central Committee member, to Wojciech Olejniczak and Grzegorz Onichimowski: "If I Did Not Do What I Do"; date and place not given]

[Excerepts] [Olejniczak, Onichimowski] What do shipyard workers talk about most often?

[Labecki] Do they have any opportunities for talking?

[Olejniczak, Onichimowski] They could talk during, say, a cigarette break.

[Labecki] Such breaks are signs of bad work organization and should not be allowed in plants. Actually, the only time workers can talk are the 15 minutes in the morning when they assemble for work, the 15 minutes break for breakfast, and when they have finished their work.

[Olejniczak, Onichimowski] What do they talk about during their breakfast break?

[Labecki] Mostly about current events. What worries them most is the flow of goods, prices, and wages. Work organization interests them less, which is a pity. They often comment on the speeches made by party and government leaders, although many of them claim that they do not watch television. As soon as someone makes a statement, workers at once compare it with reality and consider whether the power apparatus is honest toward them.

[Olejniczak, Onichimowski] Do workers frequently hold different views than the power apparatus?

[Labecki] Very often, but this is at times a result of ignorance and, more rarely, of bad will. In most cases workers' criticism is based on good intentions and on the desire to find better solutions within the framework of our system. It would be a good thing to ensure that no center of the power apparatus tries to smother such criticism, as was the case in the past and is the case now, too.

[Olejniczak, Onichimowski] To what extent do workers identify with the ideals of socialism in the present crisis situation?

[Labecki] Some workers allow themselves to be manipulated by the opposition. Some would like to live in a different political reality -- under a different system. However, a decisive majority of workers do accept the ideals of socialism. At the same time, they are filled with disbelief caused by the fact that in the past many slogans remained just slogans.

[Olejniczak, Onichimowski] Are young workers more critical than anyone else?

[Labecki] It is often said that young workers want to work little and to possess much. Such views are mostly wrong. Young workers want to work, but not for nothing. They want to work in well-run plants, even under the conditions of discipline. The economic management apparatus has remained mostly unchanged and with its old habits and mentality is unable to trigger new methods of work. In the eyes of young workers this lessens the credibility of the system at the top and of plant management at the bottom. After all, plant managements function in socialist Poland. Views are developing that we have learned nothing and that, unfortunately, we will not overcome our crisis, and if we do, it will take a very long time to do so. Some workers are even yearning for capitalism, which is concerned with discipline and better organization as well as with unemployment, in order to guarantee respect for work. Young people are impatient, but we still have been unable to exploit the socialist achievement such as the right to work and to organize our economy in such a way as to ensure that people do not vegetate, but lead real and honest lives.

[Olejniczak, Onichimowski] The awareness of the workers class is undergoing constant changes and was different last year than it is today. What factor affects that awareness most of all?

[Labecki] Reality is the primary factor in that regard. The party is slowly regaining the trust of the workers class as a whole, but you need just one false step and just one method that resembles the old worn out or rejected methods to at once annihilate all the efforts of the party aktivs and all the people who are for socialism. Such are the present moods.

[Olejniczak, Onichimowski] There are some 13,500 workers in your shipyards. About 2,000 of them are trade unionists and fewer still are party members....

[Labecki] The situation in our shipyards is complicated. After all, Solidarity was stronger in its activities here than anywhere else. Second, some unsuitable people have joined the new trade union. Negative practices do confront us from time to time. I think that in time many functionaries will be left by the roadside, new ones will arrive, and the situation will improve. But as things are with the trade union authorities, workers find no incentive to join in. Trade unionists are not militant enough. They have entrenched themselves behind their desks and avoid visiting various shops. Perhaps in time workers will join the new trade unions.

I think that activities for the community must go hand in hand with activity for individual members. Some of the workers questioned by me did not know who is the chairman of the trade union, where you can get the trade union declaration, and so on and so forth. This shows that at times not even the very minimum of activity is being met. As I know, the situation is unfortunately like this in many other plants countrywide.

[Olejniczak, Onichimowski] One of the most important aims of the ninth party congress was to repair the economy.... However, the implementation of the economic reform is meeting with many difficulties.

[Labecki] The PZPR and the other parties have demonstrated much good will, and the Sejm has adopted solutions that should trigger social militancy. Exploiting those solutions in practice depends to a great extent on the managing procedures in plants. Things can be done in two ways: By slowly replacing the people who are unable to change their managing methods and thus ensure better husbandry, wages, and living conditions, or by taking drastic measures in replacing the old cadres, which has steeped itself in old practices for the past 40 years. People in that cadre are often just bureaucrats, but what we need is managers. We can also observe a clash between the discontented young generation and the postwar generation, which has achieved a great deal, but has lost vigor and is now unable to strike out in a new direction. We have to give a chance to younger and more enterprising people, whose discontent can be a source of much energy.

[Olejniczak, Onichimowski] We have spoken of old habits and mentality. The fact that you have returned to these shipyards is probably a result of the demand that high political functions should be held for a certain time only.

[Labecki] I should not really speak on this subject, but since you have asked me, I will speak. If I did not do what I did -- if I did not give up my political function -- all that I had been talking about before that would have not been worth anything. By the way, I have not returned to my former job of foreman. I have become an ordinary worker. There have been several reasons for my decision, and I have told you about one of them. I had to be consistent and to give an example to others so that they may take a leaf out of my book if they find themselves in my situation some day. Second, I have always thought that in shipyards it is necessary to be among the lowest of workers because only in this way is it possible to break through the barrier of mistrust. Before I came back here I had often spoken on the radio or at meetings, but I had not always been effective. That is why I had to become one of the workers and to go back to them. I realize that I have learned a fast political lesson and have become more experienced. That is why it is easier for me to fight and to support the few party members in my shop. Party members may say: Look, Labecki was a Politburo member and yet he has come back. I make no secret of the fact that financial reasons also influenced my decision to come back. As the first secretary in the shipyards and a member of the politburo I earned little, but I had to support four dependents. Besides, my frequent trips.... At times my wife lost her temper and was angry with me. Well, this is my answer to your question.

[Olejniczak, Onichimowski] Your return to the shipyards has made it easy for you to watch the changes in your workers' community. What are these changes? How can you describe the worker of 1984?

[Labecki] Changes in the awareness of workers are now occurring quickly -- overnight. The workers are sharply observing whatever takes place in the country and are severe judges of the power apparatus. If we succeed in maintaining the ninth party congress line and the laws passed by the Sejm in 1980-83, the workers will go with us. That is certain. But if there is a retreat from that line, then, I am convinced, we will experience a new crisis, a much more profound one.

[Olejniczak, Onichimowski] Is there a danger of that?

[Labecki] Certainly, there is. I have always said and always will that this danger is there if we fail to learn all the lessons from the past, to consistently abandon the old methods of government, and to overcome the old mentality. We have to eliminate that danger all the more so since our adversary is aware of our weaknesses and will do all he can to create a new crisis.

KOMSOMOL, PPR YOUTH BODIES DISCUSS UPBRINGING

AU141135 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 10 May 84 p 3

[Pawel Dybicz report: "Rejecting Formalism"]

[Excerpts] A recent seminar in Ryazan composed of representatives from the All-Union Komsomol and from socialist youth organizations from the PPR discussed ways of conducting ideological-educational activity.

Besides containing information on the situation inside the youth movement in both countries, the introducing reports of the seminar stressed that young people form one of the largest social groups. This is not only because of age, but also because of their specific values, way of life, mentality, and so on. Therefore it is particularly important to adapt propaganda activity to young people's psychological and social set up.

In order for young people's ideological-political attitudes to be permanent and cohesive, it is not enough that they know and understand the basic principles of socialist ideology. They must also develop emotional ties with socialism's ideals, and at the same time undertake various forms of practical activity which would make a young person feel that he is participating in the joint creation of the reality surrounding him and that he is jointly responsible for its shape.

A failure to take into consideration a person's psychological and social set up in propaganda activity results in a failure by that person to understand the information communicated to him. That is why it is important to eliminate superficiality in the process of political education by raising the status of this education, said the first secretary from the Ryazan District Komsomol.

The content and form of this education must be attractive. It cannot be of a compulsory nature. It is also necessary to reject formalism, which consists of some people only attending lectures in order to obey the rules.

Janusz Gesicki, from the Council of Ministers Institute for Youth Research, described in his speech the current state of political-philosophical consciousness. He said that investigations into young people's consciousness were made in 1983. A questionnaire asked for the explanation of 10 concepts, such as socialism, capitalism, democracy, and social justice. The results showed that young people do not understand the language of the mass media. Hence the need to pay greater attention to correct language and to its expressiveness.

Political education requires an ability to select the right methods of carrying it out, said Tatiana Mukilina from the Kursk District Komsomol. It is necessary to know the goals we are trying to achieve when commencing education work and select the subject-matter, methods, and resources of educational activity. We in the Komsomol attach great importance to school activity, especially to lessons in citizen-like awareness and in history. Meetings with the press are organized. Leninist circles and political and discussion clubs also perform widescale activity in schools.

Summing up the 3-day seminar, Krzysztof Janik, secretary of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, said: In educational work, we must aim to develop a class outlook among young people on the world around us and on the international situation. Internationalist upbringing in the spirit of peace is an important matter. Internationalism should be interpreted as preparing young people to defend socialism and peace. We are also joined by the ideas of communism, and the natural fruit of these ideas is Polish-Soviet friendship.

Aleksandr Izmailov, from the Komsomol's Central Committee, stressed that this friendship is ripening, proof of which is the present seminar, in which views have been exchanged and problems and experiences shared.

CC MEMBER ON PARTY'S POSITIVE, NEGATIVE POINTS

AU161332 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 May 84 p 3

[Interview given by Jerzy Maniawski, PZPR Central Committee member and first secretary of the nitrogen plant in Tarnow, to H. Swieszczakowska: "Time Is Working for Us"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Swiesczakowska] The ninth congress was a turning point in the life of the party, which has been clearly regaining its authority since then. Is that process always taking place in line with the ninth congress resolutions?

[Maniawski] One thing is certain: The party has gained in strength in large production plants. Sham activities and the practice of claiming other people's work for oneself are over. People have become sensitive to falsehoods and excessive embellishments. The party's new work style means less officialdom and more personal contacts and talks with party members and nonparty people. The importance and status of primary party organizations are on the increase, but, as I see it, this increase is too slow. One reason for that may be the fact that it is most difficult to change one's consciousness. One can hardly expect that the primary party organizations, which in the past were "spoon-fed" and supplied with ready-made concepts to "believe in" and the voice of which was most ignored, would suddenly get going at a fast speed and become militant. Not only that, but the present economic and political situation as well is against such expectations. Like every human being, every organization needs some success and appreciation from time to time to summon more strength. Otherwise it loses heart and drive.

At times an organization loses heart and drive when official pronouncements do not match official deeds. It still happens in party practice that primary party organizations are hardly supposed to exist. However, I think that time is working in favor of those organizations and thus for the rank-and-file party members. What we must do is to guard most carefully internal party democracy and the correct proportions between democracy and centralism. In the past the narrow groups of party aktivs simply replaced democracy by methods of ordering party organizations about. The danger that such methods may return is not at all unreal.

[Swieszczakowska] Compared with its situation before August 1980, the party has lost one-third of its members. That is the other side of the coin -- a darker one.

[Maniawski] That was not a bad thing for the party. After all, many passive party members, who had no links with their organizations, took their leave. That is one of the reasons why today we say that the party is the same, but not quite the same. It is true that those who left the party included valuable people, but they were psychologically weak and would not be of much use to us. New comrades are slowly joining the party.

[Swieszczakowska] The process of the regeneration of trade union and self-management life in plants is difficult. How can a party organization be more effective in overcoming these difficulties?

[Maniawski] The main goal of party organizations in plants is to boost the role of self-management bodies and trade unions. We must go to the work forces and to trade union and self-management aktivs and tell them the whole truth about the ninth congress line, which amounts to expanding the base of government, to developing self-management bodies, and to implementing the new formula of the party's guiding and leading role. However, leadership must not be reduced to merely enforcing the leadership's views and much less to ordering others about. Those who would much like the party to exercise its role in that way would in fact like themselves and not the party to be obeyed. The conflicts that occur are caused mainly by the bad characteristics of specific people.

[Swieszczakowska] At the 15th Central Committee Plenum you were very much for workers having a greater share in the party and its bodies. Can it really be said that an increase of workers in the party authorities is the best medicine for the party's problems?

[Maniawski] I do not demand that workers should be occupying government posts. Nor do I think that only workers should be first secretaries of the party and that this would be a panacea for all ills. What I do mean is more workers in party bodies. It is true that an intellectual has the knowledge to enable him to hold responsible functions, but he has to be controlled by workers who are realistic and courageous enough to spell out unpleasant truths and hit at evil doings. The worker nature of the party means that reality is assessed realistically and that decisions are made with courage. Workers have never lacked courage.

At the 15th plenum I spoke of these matters mainly in the context of the fact that workers are not keen on joining the bodies of authority, that it is difficult to talk them into offering themselves as candidates for elections, and that they are still mistrustful and continue to watch everything carefully, judging the agreement between words and deeds. If we are able to convince them that the party has learned its lessons from past errors and continues to defend class and workers interests, we will, I think, have no difficulties with the composition of the party authorities and with the workers' participation in the lives of organizations. However, we have to be patient and, above all, more effective in party activities.

MARGUERITTE: PARADOX OF POLONIAN FIRMS

PM151657 Paris LE FIGARO in French 11 May 84 p 6

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Poland: Ideologues Against Private Initiative"]

[Text] Warsaw -- Somebody recently told me that to understand Poland at all you not only have to know all its realities, which takes time, but also all its surrealism, which takes even longer. Indeed, Poland's inconsistencies and the incoherent aspects of the system join together, combine, and are interwoven in a bewildering maze.

The latest example of this attempt to do the impossible is that, with the country sinking into economic crisis, the leadership quite rightly concluded that they must give the go-ahead to private initiative, cottage industry, private commerce, and foreign investments, but this immediately produced some inequalities. Hence a great campaign has just been launched to condemn, in the name of ideological fervor, what they are encouraging with the other hand. Once again the socialist monster is biting its own tail.

This private system concerns not only agriculture (76 percent of land belongs to family farms), but also cottage industries, small stores, and above all the "Polonian firms". This last case is very Polish: To benefit from foreign investment without seeming to abandon a firm ideological line, the creation of Western firms is allowed provided they have as proprietor or figurehead somebody with vague Polish connections. These enterprises are, therefore, mushrooming, and making quick fortunes. In fact there is no competition on a domestic market which lacks everything, and since these firms are allowed to keep the foreign currency earned by their exports, they are in a position, despite heavy taxes, to pay their workers wages which are 4 to 5 times higher than those in the socialized sector.

From Single to Double

Of course that was bound to infuriate orthodox party members and it is true that, by means of much better work than done in the state enterprises, the employees of these "Polonian" firms are very privileged. Moreover, as is known, inequalities grow particularly quickly in a period of galloping inflation. Furthermore, some of these firms undoubtedly go too far, selling goods which are sometimes of very poor quality at excessively high prices. But, on the whole, they clearly play a very beneficial role in bringing in currency and goods and supplying the domestic market. They also teach hard work and respect for economic calculation.

However, a huge campaign has been launched, especially on television, against the "new inequalities." It is often absurd and unjust. For instance a private store was exposed for selling a sports bag for 600 zlotys when the same article costs twice as much in the neighboring state store. Moreover the accusations are almost always unfounded.

In an article in POLITYKA Mr Toeplitz enjoys telling the advocates of ideological purity that "if the state socialized economy, managed from above by the central plan, and strictly respecting the principles of equality and justice, had given the expected positive results, nobody would have dreamed of creating the 'Polonian firms' or introducing any reforms, or, in general, carrying out any experiment." And, for the benefit of those who demand a return to centralized economy, he added: "But, after all, gentlemen, we have already experienced all that. What did it bring us? It quite simply got us where we are now, in other words in a hole from which we are extricating ourselves with difficulty."

On the other hand it is easy to understand the recriminations of the managers of state enterprises. How could they keep up with the private firms? One of those managers told me recently that, despite the reform, the state takes 80 percent of his profits, and only 5 percent of the price of his products stays in the enterprise. "In these conditions," he explained, "exports bring me little, and I am not in a position to increase my employees' wages. So the best of them will go and earn 4 or 5 times more in the 'Polonian firms' and we are heading straight for disaster."

CORRECTION TO OLYMPIC CHARTER VIOLATIONS

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Dailies Allege Violations of Olympic Charter" and subheaded "Anti-Soviet Campaign" published in the 15 May Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, page G 2, paragraph four:

Line four: ...corporations have spent $500 million for the right...

Penultimate line: ...have paid $4 million for the "exclusive... (adding the dropped word "million")

WORKING PEOPLE'S PLENUM RESOLUTION ISSUED

AU081031 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0915 GMT 8 May 84

["Resolution and Call" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 08/05/1984 -- A resolution and call of the May 4-5 plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People of Romania, published today, stresses that the documents debated by this representative forum of the working class and other categories of working people of Romania are meant to ensure the unflinching implementation of the historic resolutions of the Twelfth Congress and National Conference of the RCP, the fulfilment in best conditions of the single national plan for 1984, further and important achievements in marking major events in the life of the Romanian people -- the anniversary of 40 years since the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation of August 23 and the Thirteenth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

Assessing the efforts the working people in all socioeconomic sectors make to score good results in fulfilling the plan tasks set for the first four months of the year, the resolution and call decided that firm measures be taken in all branches of the national economy, in all economic units to achieve and even top all plan indicators. Starting from the conditions and possibilities of the national economy the document points to the need for everything possible to be done to implement the energy and raw materials base development programme and the programmes for a more marked rise in productivity, improvement of the quality of products, which should be comparable and even better than what is currently made on a world plane, higher competitiveness of the Romanian products.

Participants in the plenary meeting call on all working people to implement with a growing efficiency the plan for 1984 and the five-year period (1981-1985) as a whole, and the special programmes in force. At the same time, the plenary meeting calls on working people's councils to take firm action and develop socialist property, more fully apply the socialist principle of distribution in relation to the quantity, quality and social significance of work, more closely link each working man's or woman's income to his or her achievements in fulfilling the production and export plan, in raising productivity and better using resources, in improving economic efficiency. The document also stresses the expansion and generalization of the overall agreement scheme to all economic units as a major way to promote a better organization of production and work and a growing sense of responsibility, order and discipline.

People engaged in research, design and development are called upon to concentrate on the assimilation of new products, make the national economy self-sufficient in materials to ensure a good supply and a rhythmical pace of production all while significantly reducing imports. Moreover, they are also required to work resolutely for the continuing improvement of production quality and performance, for cutting down materials and energy consumption by re-using resources, developing new technologies and updating the existing ones, and expanding the mechanization and automation of production processes. The plenary meeting calls on collective management bodies of socialist units to do their best and make the best possible use of technical and material facilities, put an end to waste, operate all productive units, machines and equipment at capacity and safely.

The same document shows that the plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People assessed that every condition was in place for the 1984 plan to be not only fulfilled but also overfulfilled, that all problems could soon be solved, all economic activities raised to a higher level and their performance constantly improved.

The plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People states its full attachment to Socialist Romania's home and foreign policy and is highly appreciative of the tireless activity of the party general secretary, the president of the Republic, Nicolae Ceausescu, in the service of building an international climate of peace, cooperation and understanding that can provide the best conditions for the implementation of socialist development programmes, and make the hopes of all the peoples of the world for welfare, happiness and progress come true, the document winds up.

NEW TECHNOLOGIES IMPROVE RAW MATERIALS BASE

AU161851 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1730 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 16/5/1984 -- Over 200 productive units have been inaugurated in recent years in the Romanian extractive industry, which have allowed for an almost 40 per cent increase of the amount of hewed lignite and brown coal, and an over 50 per cent increase of that of pit coal, etc. For instance some 120,000 tons of pit coal are annually hewed at Cimpu Lui Neag, over 500,000 tons of bituminous schists at Anina, large amounts of ores are extracted in the new mining units in the fields of Moldova Noua, Rosia Poieni, Calimani. The inauguration of new deposits will lead to a 1.2 times increase in the iron ore extraction in this five-year period. Some 60,000 tons of sulphur will be extracted from recently traced deposits.

Developing are also the nonmetaliferrous ore units, which will supply increased amounts of raw materials to the ceramics and glassware industries, etc. As compared with the previous five-year plan, by 67 per cent more funds were earmarked to the Romanian extractive industry, meant to lead to a trebling of the lignite and brown coal production, the increase of pit coal production by at least 55 per cent, the 30 per cent increase of crude production and the over 60 per cent increase of zinc production, etc. The turning to advantage of deposits of lean ores entails almost the trebling of the extracted ore mass, but technologies have been devised to make such an exploitation remunerative and are about to be accomplished. By the end of the current five-year period, production capacities will be put into operation in mining industry apt to produce 20 billion tons of ores. The installations and equipment supplied to mining units and a string of recent technical facilities ensure high productivity. The new technologies, the bettered labour organization systems, the overall piece-rate, one in particular, the better outfit will enable higher productivity parametres in the next two years.

Labour productivity in the extractive industry as a whole will record a 4.9 per cent rise in 1985 as compared with 1981. Special programmes pursue the rational utilization of the raw materials resources and the recovery and recycling of some of them. Up to 50 per cent of the necessary raw materials and even more with some of them will be ensured in this five-year period out of recovered materials. Firm steps have been taken at a national level for the recovery of some useful substances from waste dump, from residual water, household and industrial wastes. By higher processing, thermoelectric power ashes, furnace slags, cement dust, gypsum, etc, are capitalized. Some 120 billion lei is the estimated value of raw materials savings by 1985 made only through reusing some raw and auxiliary materials. Energetic actions have been taken in the oil industry for the application of recovery procedures. Over 1,000 wells are being drilled where modern methods of crude recovery will be applied. Techniques for capturing crude tops are being extended now to ten oilfields. Extended will also be the mining technologies for crude exploitation, older wells will be reopened, the final recovery factor will be heightened. Increasing the raw materials base is a priority of the Romanian economy permanently heeded by the state leadership, work collectives, all specialty cadres, all scientific and technological research staff.

PRC JOURNALISTS INTERVIEW MARKOVIC BEFORE VISIT

LD161540 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1025 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] Belgrade, 16 May (TANJUG) -- Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has granted an interview to RENMIN RIBAO, organ of the CPC, to XINHUA, and to Radio Beijing. The Chinese journalists asked for this interview in connection with the forthcoming visit of an LCY delegation to the PRC which he is going to lead.

Question: During the past few years the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two parties and the two countries, China and Yugoslavia, have been developing in a comprehensive and stable way and have attained admirable results. On the eve of the visit to China by an LCY delegation led by you, esteemed chairman, how do you view the prospects for the further development of these relations?

Answer: First of all I would like to stress that I fully share your assessment of the development of friendly relations and cooperation between the LCY and the CPC, and between Yugoslavia and China as a whole. We have attained this development of Yugoslav-Chinese relations and cooperation by mutual efforts and by reciprocal and consistent respect for the principles of independence, equality, noninterference, and respect for the differences in the internal development and international positions of the two countries.

Following President Tito's visit to China in 1977 there followed, as is known, an intensive development of Yugoslav-Chinese relations in all spheres. Our political relations are characterized by reciprocal trust, understanding, and respect. We develop a fruitful exchange of views and a dialogue without imposing our own stands and views. All this is of exceptional importance for the development of friendship and for even better reciprocal knowledge and understanding.

In a number of other areas, too, we developed successful cooperation, but in economic cooperation we still have not made use of actual opportunities which exist in view of the economic and natural potential of the SFRY and PRC.

Last year's visit to our country by the general secretary of the CPP Central Committee, Comrade Hu Yaobang, represented a significant step in promoting relations between the two parties and countries and a continuation of top-level exchange of views, and we are convinced that the visit of an LCY delegation will also serve as a new contribution to the development of friendly Yugoslav-Chinese relations. We are very much looking forward to the forthcoming visit to the PRC and to the CPC, to our meetings with Comrade Hu Yaobang and other most prominent leaders of the Chinese party and state, and also to the possibility of being acquainted with the achievements of the Chinese working people.

I should particularly like to stress our conviction that all conditions and mutual readiness exist for the friendly relations between the LCY and the CPC, and between the SFRY and the PRC to be developed further, successfully and comprehensively, and enriched on jointly established principles. We are convinced that this is the lasting interest of the peoples of our countries, but it has a wider international significance as well -- it represents an example and encouragement of equal international cooperation in the interests of peace, security, progress, and socialism in the world.

Question: Yugoslavia is now making enormous efforts for the implementation of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization and is scoring important results. Please tell us about the main tasks of the LCY in the present stage of implementation of this program.

Answer: In opting for the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization, the LCY, which initiated the laying down of the program, and our society adopted and proclaimed themselves in favor of a policy of profound social and economic changes in order to strengthen the actual power and responsibility of the workers in self-management associated labor and in order to establish production relations based on self-management lines. The Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization is not an orientation to overcome the economic difficulties which we are currently confronting. It is a program of struggle for major and essential changes in the quality of our economic cooperation and within our basic production relationship. It is an orientation for the full respect for economic laws in our socialist economy and an orientation to check the results of work and productivity in accordance with market principles.

The policy of relying on our own resources signifies a long-term orientation toward productivity, professional work, and high-level work economies. With the application of the principle of distribution according to the results of work it should encourage the forward-looking branches of the economy and the economically successful basic organizations of associated labor, and it should prevent further socialization of losses, so to speak, unproductive work, (?unemployment), and so forth.

We are aware that this is a very complex task which cannot be carried out overnight, or a short-term campaign, and that this is a process during which we shall come up against serious difficulties which will occur as a result of objective circumstances and the situation in which this program is being implemented. During its implementation, one has to count on the opposition of those forces which defend their privileged positions, on technocratic lack of understanding, and dogmatic resistance.

For this very reason the role of the League of Communists, as a leading force of our society, is very great and responsible ideed. With its clear orientation, clear outlook, understanding of the overall situation, and by the force of the arguments of its ideo-political orientation its membership should move forward all the subjective forces of our society, and within the overall self-management system, at every level secure the implementation of the agreed policy and of the tasks that have been set. Our entire society and the League of Communists are facing major tasks, particularly as far as that is concerned. We have won the hearts of the people regarding the gravity of the complex nature of the situation and the need that one must work in a more organized, productive, and economic way. However, there still remains the task of the depth and the long-term nature of socioeconomic actions which we have to carry out during the ensuing period, continually, and by developing further the system of self-management socialist democracy, to be understood better.

Question: Nonaligned and neutral countries of Europe, including Yugoslavia, are playing an increasingly important role and are making one positive contribution after another to preserving peace and relaxing tension on this continent. Comrade Chairman, how do you see the present situation in Europe and the future of the struggle of European nonaligned and neutral countries for peace and security.

Answer: The situation in the world is exceptionally acute. International relations are weighed down by many contradictions, conflicts, and crises. Peace and security of the peoples and countries are seriously threatened by a policy of force, intervention, and interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries, while the arms race is assuming new and increasingly dangerous proportions. The economic difficulties which have enveloped many countries are hitting the developing countries hardest. In the solution of economic and political problems confronting the world, in the struggle for freedom, peace, independence, and equality of peoples and countries, an irreplaceable contribution is being made by the policy and the movement of nonalignment which which have asserted themselves as influential and independent factors of international relations.

Despite the difficulties and pressure with which they are confronted, the nonaligned countries are very involved in the struggle to have the present unfavorable situation in the world changed.

Enormous stockpiles of nuclear and conventional weaponry are concentrated in Europe while the arms race is acquiring new and frightening dimensions, especially as a result of the installation of new missiles. An escalation of bloc confrontations has occured on this continent which has spilled over to virtually all the areas of relations. Such a situation in Europe, in its turn, has a negative influence on the situation in the world. That is why concern for peace and the destinies of the peoples of our continent is growing in Europe. Proceeding from that, European nonaligned and neutral countries, and all progressive and democratic forces and mass peace movements as well, are actively involved and are launching numerous initiatives for the present situation to be gradually overcome

The European nonaligned and neutral countries have come forward with a joint proposal at the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, which is being held in Stockholm, so that disarmament prospects may be opened up and Europe may become a continent of peace, security, and cooperation. We believe that it is indispensable, by joint efforts of all the countries, to overcome the obstacles and establish the conditions for a renewal of detente, consolidation of trust, and promotion of relations in Europe and further afield too, in the spirit of the aspirations of the European peoples.

We proceed from the assumption that peace and security in Europe cannot be attained without peace and security in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean to be transformed into a zone of peace, security, and all-round equal cooperation, without nuclear weapons, confrontation, and conflicts.

The LCY and the SAWPY will be hosts to the Conference of Progressive Parties and Movements in the Mediterranean which will be held in Belgrade in July this year and which will afford an opportunity for talks on the directions, contents, and forms of multilateral and bilateral activity with a view to establishing the conditions for prosperity, peace, security, and cooperation in this area, Dragoslav Markovic said in his interview with Chinese journalists.

LEADERS SEND GREETINGS TO CSSR ON NATIONAL DAY

Spiljak to Husak

AU160720 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 May 84 p 6

[Text] Belgrade -- On behalf of the SFRY Presidency, Mika Spiljak, president of the Presidency, has sent a telegram to Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR, on the occasion of the national holiday, expressing cordial congratulations and wishes for a constant prosperity of the friendly peoples of the CSSR and for further successes in the socialist building of the country.

Planinc to Strougal

AU160717 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 May 84 p 6

[Text] On the occasion of the national holiday of the CSSR, Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, has sent a message of congratulations to Premier Lubomir Strougal, expressing her conviction that the traditionally friendly relations and mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries will continue to develop successfully in the interest of the peoples of the CSSR and the SFRY, equal international cooperation, socialism, and peace in the world.

Markovic to Husak

AU160718 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 May 84 p 6

[Text] On behalf of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and on his own behalf, Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has sent a telegram to Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, with cordial congratulations and best wishes for the further successful socialist development of the country and the prosperity of the friendly peoples of the CSSR. The telegram expresses satisfaction at the successful development of relations and cooperation between the LCY and the CPCZ and between the two countries.

MARKOVIC RECEIVES FRENCH POLITBURO'S GREMETZ

AU162012 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 14 May 84

[Text] Belgrade, May 14 (TANJUG) -- The further promotion of the traditionally good relations and cooperation between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) and the French Communist Party was the topic of talks held here today, Monday, by LCY Presidency President Dragoslav Markovic and French Communist Party Politbureau member and Central Committee Secretary Maxim Gremetz.

Both sides assessed that the two parties' relations contribute to the overall development of Yugoslav-French ties. Gremetz, who visited Yugoslavia at the invitation of the LCY Presidency, also met today with LCY Presidency member Peter Matic. He ended his visit this afternoon, and was seen off from Belgrade airport by LCY Presidency member Dobrivoje Vidic.

MARKOVIC-LED CROATIAN DELEGATION VISITS BRITAIN

LD151901 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1328 GMT 15 May 84

[Text] London, May 15 (TANJUG) -- Premier of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Ante Markovic and the members of his delegation who are visiting Great Britain at the invitation of the British Government, called on the Earl of Avon, parliamentary under-secreta for energy, today, Monday [as received]. During the talks, the Yugoslav delegation was informed about Britain's energy policy while the British side expressed interest in energy development projects in Yugoslavia.

The delegation, which is accompanied by a group of businessmen, this morning had talks with representatives of International Computers Ltd, which cooperates with Yugoslav enterprises. Another member of the delegation, Gino Matosovic, who chairs the Croatian Republican Committee for Tourism, met with representatives of the British tourist industry.

Meets Foreign Secretary Howe

LD162243 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1740 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] London, 16 May (TANJUG) -- The delegation of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, which is headed by Ante Markovic, president of the Executive Council, today called on the British foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, and had a long cordial conversation with him. Malcolm Rifkind, minister of state in the foreign office, and Dragi Stamenkovic, Yugoslav ambassador in London, also took part in the conversation.

The two sides are reported to have expressed the desire and readiness during the conversation for the further comprehensive promotion and development of what are already successful relations between the two countries. Particular attention was devoted to economic relations between Yugoslavia and Britain. In this connection attention was drawn to -- as the British side stressed -- the recent successful and fruitful visit paid to Britain by Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, and her talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

The British foreign secretary displayed particular interest in economic development in our country and Ante Markovic gave him a detailed account of the stabilization effotts being made and talked about the first successes which had already been achieved in Croatia and the whole of Yugoslavia in this respect, especially in raising production. The British minister said that his country was ready to continue, as much as possible, to extend support to these efforts. He also stressed that the British Government held Yugoslavia's independent and nonaligned policy in high esteem.

The conversation also dwelt on the difficult position in which developing countries had found themselves in recent years. After the conversation, Minister of State Rifkind entertained the visitors from Yugoslavia to luncheon.

The delegation of the Croat Executive Council is paying a 5-day visit to Great Britain at the invitation of the British Government. Today the delegation also had talks with Paul Channon, British minister for trade. During the talks, which were attended by Dragi Stamenkovic, the ambassador, the two sides exchanged views on what should be done to raise trade and economic cooperation to an even higher level.

Last year and again this year there was a considerable increase in Yugoslav exports to Britain, but, it was noted, there were also real possibilities for achieving a higher level in direct trade and economic cooperation in general, which should be enriched with new forms and placed on new foundations. In this connection, Ante Markovic pointed out the need to surmount a number of barriers barring export to Britain, such as import quotas imposed on certain products. He also said that there was no reason why British technology should not be more present than it was today in Croatia and in the Yugoslav economy in general through joint ventures based on an equal footing and through increased investment by British firms in industrial projects or tourism.

Possibilities for promoting cooperation in tourism were also discussed this afternoon during separate talks in the Department for Trade and Industry and direct talks have also been held in this connection with British businessmen.

The delegation also met representatives of the ICI [not further identified]. Tonight the delegation left for Scotland. Ante Markovic, president of the Croat Executive Council, is pleased with the results thus far achieved during this short working visit and talks, because not only government representatives but also British enterprises have shown interest in and desire for broader mutual cooperation.

HADZIVASILEV TO REPRESENT LCY AT SPD CONGRESS

LD160957 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0834 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] Belgrade, 16 May (TANJUG) -- Kiro Hadzivasilev, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, left for Essen today where as a representative of the LCY he will attend the congress of SPD. At Belgrade airport Hadzivasilev was seen off by Marko Lolic, executive secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.

GRACANIN RECEIVES YAR CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF

AU151849 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 May 84 p 7

[Text] Colonel General Petar Gracanin, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, received at the Federal Secretariat for National Defense yesterday Colonel 'Abd al-Husayn al-Bashiri, chief of the General Staff of the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR], who is heading a military delegation of his country on a visit to our country and our Armed Forces.

General Gracanin and the guest from Yemen discussed further cooperation and advancement of relations between the Armed Forces of the two friendly and nonaligned countries. The talks, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, were attended by Rear Admiral Vice Letica, Lieutenants General Slavko Djurdjevic, Anton Tus, and Ilija Trbovic, and other officers of the Yugoslav People's Army.

YOC PRESIDENT MUTIN DETAILS PARTICIPATION PLANS

AU161336 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 May 84 p 12

[A. Cordas report]

[Text] Novi Sad, 14 May -- A delegation of the Yugoslav Olympic Committee [YOC] and the Yugoslav Association for Physical Culture that was led by Zdravko Mutin, president of the YOC, returned from the United States a few days ago. The members of our delegation learned about the Soviet boycott during the visit, when they agreed with representatives of the Organizational Committee of the Olympic games in Los Angeles on all details of the participation and stay of Yugoslav athletes at the Olympics.

About the stands of the YOC concerning the boycott and the stay of our delegation, Zdravko Mutin said among other things:

"The stands of the YOC, as well as of the whole physical culture movement in Yugoslavia, are generally known. We took part in all games so far, and since these events have been taking place, I can only say with regret that humane sports by no means benefit from a boycott, for athletes of the whole world have been preparing themselves for the Olympic games, and some of them are now deprived of the pleasure to participate.

"We have a positive attitude toward the Olympic games," Mutin continued "and we think that they contribute to cooperation and to the preservation of peace in the world. An example of our attitude was the winter Olympic games in Sarejevo, which were most highly assessed in the world. Our wish is that Yugoslav athletes leave for Los Angeles as prepared as possible and worthily represent our physical culture movement and our country. This time we will have a most numerous Olympic entourage, and we can express regret in the name of sports and athletes that, according to the present news from the Olympic games, some top athletes will be absent from them.

"The delegation has accomplished a great deal in the United States. We have ensured the best possible accommodations in the Olympic village of the University of California, Los Angeles and agreed on sponsorship contracts [ugovorili smo marketing poslove] with a view to having covered all our expenses for preparations and stay. We have visited all competition sites. We will present all details about the accommodations, transportation, meals, and other important issues concerning the stay of our athletes in Los Angeles at the meeting of the YOC with representatives of sports associations in Belgrade on Wednesday [16 May]. We have contacted our emigrants, who want to help us in every respect. They will welcome us festively, be at our service with transportation, then as our guides, in order to be able to celebrate together with us our possible successes at the Olympic games.

"I would like to add that the YOC will make the final list of the Olympic participants by 29 June. All in all, I expect a successful participation of our athletes at the Olympic competition sites, which enable top sports achievements, and that members of our delegation and the athletes will have a completely safe stay in Los Angeles."

Accommodation Arrangements

LD161716 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1622 GMT 16 May 84

[Text] Belgrade, May 16 (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav team at the Los Angeles summer Olympics will be accommodated at the University of California-Los Angeles, announced a delegation of the Yugoslav National Olympic Committee on its return here from the United States. At a meeting today with representatives of Yugoslav sports federations, the delegation informed them about the conditions of the Yugoslav athletes' accommodations and participation in the games. Some 200 Yugoslav athletes will compete in the Olympics. They will leave for Los Angeles in three groups on July 20, 24 and 26.

SOVIET CLAIMS TO 9 MAY LIBERATION REBUTTED

AU160701 [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 11 May on page 5 carries a 1,100-word report from Moscow by its permament correspondent Dragan Vukcevic on articles by Soviet marshals, generals, and admirals published in the Moscow press on the anniversary of the victory over fascist Germany. Vukcevic notes that Marshal Ustinov in PRAVDA said that "9 May is a holiday celebrated by the Soviet people, the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, and all the progressive people of the planet." "This statement," Vukcevic remarks, "which is not new and which indicates the 'differences' and 'divisions' in the world, reopened the polemics about the contribution of the members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition in World War II." He notes the Soviet "sensitivity toward 'foreign' assessments of the Soviet share in the victory" and quotes from articles by Ustinov and Ogarkov. "It is particularly emphasized in the present articles that the Warsaw Pact, a military-political alliance, reliably stands 'guard' over the revolutionary achievements of the 'socialist community' countries," Vukcevic remarks.

"In contrast to statements made last year, the contribution of other countries and movements is mentioned only occasionally. Defense Minister Ustinov said that fighters of national liberation forces, patriots of Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Albania, Romania, Hungary, participants in the resistance movements, and members of the antifascist underground, fought 'bravely' with fascist occupiers.

"In addition, the merits of the Red Army were pointed out in the full or partial liberation of several European countries, including Yugoslavia. In this way, the individual contributions of European countries to the victory over fascism was again mixed up with those which had fascist regimes in the early period. The book, "Liberation," which was recently also published in Serbo-Croatian, stresses that Tito 'addressed a request to the Soviet Government that Soviet forces enter Yugoslavia.' The said book, as well as the articles by military leaders, this time again ignores the fact that more than 30 fascist divisions were permanently tied down in Yugoslavia, of which 25 were German divisions, which would otherwise have been deployed on the Eastern front," Vukcevic remarks. He reports that the book, "Liberation" by Aleksey Antosyak mentions 270,000 German soldiers in Yugoslavia. Vukcevic concludes: "'Other' reminiscences about the wartime lack even these data, let alone those which say that the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities rose in uprising against the occupiers in July 1941, only 2 weeks after the German attack on the Soviet Union."

NEW PRESIDENCY HOLDS FIRST MEETING 15 MAY

LD151933 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1131 GMT 15 May 84

[Text] Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG) -- Immediately following the announcement of the election and publication of the new composition of the SFRY Presidency in the Yugoslav Assembly, the first session of the newly elected SFRY Presidency was held today in the Palace of the Federation during which Veselen Djuranovic, SFRY Presidency member from the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, was elected president, and Radovan Vlajkovic, SFRY Presidency member from the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, was elected vice president.

The session, which was convened by and, until the election of the new president, chaired by President Mika Spijak, was attended by the newly elected members of the SFRY Presidency Branko Mikulic, Veselin Djuranovic, Josip Vrhovec, Lazar Mojsov, Stane Dolanc, Nikola Ljubicic, Sinan Hasani, and Radovan Vlajkovic, and Dragoslav Markovic, who is an ex officio member by virtue of being the president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. Also attending were SFRY Presidency members whose mandate was expiring -- Cvijetin Mijatovic, Viloje Zarkovic, Lazar Kolisevski, Sergej Kraigher, Petar Stambolic, and Fadil Hodza.

Before the SFRY Presidency in its new composition was constituted, the hitherto President Mika Spiljak made an appropriate statement to welcome them and to wish them success in their work.

"In the period after Tito, said Comrade Spiljak, the SFRY Presidency took on a great responsibility to preserve and further to improve everything we have attained in the revolution and during the postwar development of our society. There also were the years of considerable difficulties in our internal development and in international economic and political life accompanied by major disruptions which inevitably made an impact on our country as well. All this called for enormous efforts to be made by our society and for significant changes, especially in our economic life. Although we entered this year with realistic optimism, we have no illusions that all the difficulties have been surmounted. However, initial and very significant successes have been attained. They are the result of the involvement of our working people and all social factors in the country.

"In international relations we displayed significant activity in order to strengthen the reputation of Yugoslavia in the world and to go on making our contribution to the struggle for relaxation of tension, or disarmament, for the solution of international economic problems and for the development of cooperation with all the countries on an equal footing, especially with the nonaligned. This involvement has produced results and has contributed to the consolidation of the role and status of Yugoslavia in international relations.

"In conclusion, permit me, on behalf of the present Presidency members and in my own name, to which you successful work which I couple with the conviction that together with other social factors and with the support of our working class, and all our nations and nationalities, you will successfully resolve the complex problems facing our entire society."

Then, following a procedure established by the standing orders concerning the work of the Presidency, Veselin Djuranovic, SFRY Presidency member from the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, was elected president of the SFRY Presidency for the 1-year period, while Radovan Vlajkovic, SFRY Presidency member from the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, was elected vice president.

As he went on to chair the session, the newly elected President Veselin Djuranovic said:

"On behalf of Comrade Vlajkovic and in my own name I should like to express thanks for the election which was carried out in keeping with the principle of 1-year mandate and collective work and leadership as a lasting principle in establishing and in the work of the SFRY Presidency and by virtue of that as one of the essential elements of the equality of our nations and nationalities in deciding about the most (?important) questions and common interests of our socialist federal community.

"We are today taking on responsible state functions at a time when the front of the struggle for economic stabilization and further development of socialist self-management is being expanded and intensified.

"In view of internal and international conditions, the SFRY Presidency will in future, as it has done in the past, have big commitments and responsibility in its involvement to preserve and strengthen the international position, role, and reputation of Yugoslavia.

"The implementation of socialist self-management as a dominating production relationship in our society, which is the sole and proper basis for genuine democratic relations and genuine freedoms of our working people and citizens; consolidation of political, economic, and cultural equality of our nations and nationalities; and consistent nonaligned, extra-bloc foreign policy channelled into the preservation of peace and establishment of more equitable political and economic relations in the world -- based on equal international cooperation, respect for sovereignty, integrity, and noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples -- are the basic foundations and orientations of our socialist community, most comprehensively expressed in our Constitution.

"Unconditionally in the future as well they will be the backbone of all our direct and long-term (?wishes) and activities. These are our principles and policy which we built and developed with Tito.

"The implementation of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization, together with its development and further improvement in the efficiency of the political system of socialist self-management and consolidation of legality in our society, will be given the utmost importance and priority in our future work.

"Proceeding from the already established policy concerning the essential questions of our social and economic development, separately and specifically expressed in the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization, unity, resolve, and responsibility in concrete action, as a condition for successful and more efficient implementation of jointly agreed tasks, must be constantly built and further strengthened. In so doing, a step forward must be made in the implementation of our strategic orientation -- reliance on our own resources in all the sectors of our society.

"We see all this as being the most important task and responsibility of the SFRY Presidency in its new composition so that the Presidency -- hand in hand with constant consolidation of democratic relations in future work -- could successfully carry out its constitutional functions in the implementation of the equality of the nations and nationalities of our country and in the coordination of common interests of socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces, and in the further development of the system and of the relations of socialist self-management.

"In fulfilling our commitments and tasks, we shall rely on the rich experience and democratic relations built by the SFRY Presidency in its present composition, on the great contribution which you, esteemed comrades, have made to the construction and functioning of the SFRY Presidency as a collective head of our socialist federal community and to the solution of acute problems of our social development, for which we express our gratitude to you.

"Gratitude and tribute are due to the SFRY Presidency for the successful conduct of complex and responsible state business on the internal and foreign-political plane, especially following the death of the president of the Republic, supreme commander of our Armed Forces and leader of our revolution, Josip Broz Tito.

"Consistently upholding the SFRY Constitution, the SFRY Presidency successfully fulfilled the role of the Supreme Command of our country's Armed Forces and in a proper way provided the replies to the problems which emerged in the field of protection of our constitutional system and state security. In so doing, in an essential manner it contributed to the continuity of the policy of strengthening our socialist community upon self-management foundations, on the foundations of brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities, and on positions of nonalignment.

"In cooperation with the Yugoslav Assembly, the Federal Executive Council, and the leaderships of sociopolitical organizations, the SFRY Presidency also made a great contribution to the adoption of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization, and also to the mobilization of all forces of our society on the solution of socioeconomic problems. In all this, special importance attaches to cooperation which the SFRY Presidency had with the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.

"I should particularly like to stress the contribution made by the SFRY Presidency with a view to preserving and confirming the reputation, status, and role of Yugoslavia in international relations and in the Nonaligned Movement.

"On behalf of the members of the SFRY Presidency, I thank you comrades once again for the great contribution you have made to the progress of our socialist federal community.

"We wish you success in your further activity for the food of our community.

"We wish you good health and much happiness in your life."

ASSEMBLY ELECTS OFFICERS, COMMISSION PRESIDENTS

LD151659 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0850 GMT 15 May 84

[Summary] Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav Assembly today elected the members of the SFRY Presidency. They are: Branko Mikulic, Lazar Mojsov, Stane Dolanc, Nikola Ljubicic, Radovan Vlajkovic, Sinan Hasani, Josip Vrhovec, Veselin Djuranovic, and Dragoslav Markovic, ex officio member. The session, which was chaired by Mirko Popovic, vice president of the Assembly in place of Assembly President Vojo Srzentic who is ill, was attended, in addition to the delegates of both Assembly chambers, by the outgoing members of the SFRY Presidency, by the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, by the president and members of the Federal Executive Council, by the president of the Presidencies of the republics and provinces, members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and other high-ranking officials of the federation, the Yugoslav People's Army, judiciary organs, and other organs and organizations.

The work of the session was also followed by heads of diplomatic missions in the SFRY and information media representatives from home and abroad.

After their election, members of the SFRY Presidency took their formal oath which says:

"I declare that I will fight for the protection of the sovereignty, independence, and integrity of the country and for the implementation of the power of the working class and all working people, that I will work for the implementation of brotherhood and unity and quality of the nations and nationalities, for the development of socialist self-managing society and for the implementation of the joint interests of the working people and citizens of the SFRY, that I will ahdere to the SFRY Constitution and federal laws, and that I will conscientiously and responsibly discharge my duty."

Mirko Popovic, vice president of the Assembly, then congratulated the new members of the SFRY Presidency, and thanked the outgoing members for their work. He went on:

"The SFRY Presidency as the collective organ has made a major contribution to formulating and carrying out SFRY domestic and foreign policy. In this very complex period of our development, the SFRY Presidency has set in train initiatives for measures to be taken, pointed to the directions of resolving socioeconomic problems, and worked for the harmonization of the interests of the republics and autonomous provinces in line with their responsibility to implement the rights and duties of the federation.

"Under conditions of exacerbated international relations, the SFRY Presidency has successfully worked on the further consolidation of the independent, equitable, and nonaligned position of our country in international relations. As the highest organ of leadership and command of the SFRY Armed Forces, the Presidency has also made a great contribution to the strengthening of our country's defense capabilities and consolidation of its security and social self-protection as a whole.

"The SFRY Presidency has fully affirmed itself as an adequate institutional expression of the federal system of our socialist self-managing community and as a significant factor of its unity and strength.

"To all this a great personal contribution has also been made by the outgoing members of the SFRY Presidency who, as close associates of Comrade Tito and prominent revolutionaries of our workers' and communist movement, have responsibly and successfully carried out their work in the interest of our socialist self-managing community -- the SFRY. For all this I thank them once again most warmly."

Following the election of the SFRY Presidency, the delegates of the two Assembly chambers elected at their joint session the President of the Assembly and presidents of the joint working bodies of the SFRY Assembly, as well as the new members of the Federal Executive Council.

In line with the established rotation, Dusan Alimpic, delegate from Vojvodina, was elected SFRY Assembly president. Following the formal declaration made by Dusan Alimpic, the delegates elected Nusa Kersevan, delegate from Slovenia, as vice president of the Assembly. Dusan Alimpic then expressed thanks for the trust shown to him, and made a speech in which he stressed that complex tasks await us in the further development of socialist self-managing relations and implementation of economic stabilization.

"The complex nature of the economic situation and the problems which have encumbered us for some time, Alimpic stressed, demand that the Assembly become more and more the venue of self-managing agreementreaching by all responsible social factors and opens up more toward associated labor and scientific institutions. In this way, collective work and responsibility will be further promoted and a more efficient contribution made to the affirmation of the role of delegate assemblies in the system of socialist democracy, as a kind of 'organizing of the working class' against centers of powers outside the delegate system.

"With the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization, we have clearly opted for the paths of our socioeconomic development. However, a considerable number of problems that we encounter in determining and implementing joint interests in the federation and in coordinating attitudes in implementing the economic stabilization policy stem, above all, from the attempts to retain the old relations and from resistance by their exponents, whose positions and interests are threatened. Today, more severely than before, the conflict between the old and the new, between self-management and statism is manifested, and the delegate assemblies have a significant role to play in this struggle," Dusan Alimpic said.

Following Alimpic's speech, the delegates elected Zora Tomic, president of the Commission for Elections and Appointments; Dusan Alimpic, president of the Commission for Constitutional Issues; Redzep Hamiti, president of the Administrative Commission; Ranko Djukic, president of the Commission for Information; Branislav Ostojic, president of the Commission for Establishing the Identity of Texts in the Languages of the Peoples of Yugoslavia; and Vinko Oreski, president of the Commission for Petitions and Proposals. The delegates further elected Aleksandar Icev as president of SFRY Assembly Commission for Monitoring the Implementation of the Law on Associated Labor; and Sava Savatic as president of the Commission for Monitoring the Application of the Standing Order at the Yugoslav Assembly.

The delegates then relieved the outgoing members of the Federal Executive Council of their duties and elected the new members of the council.

CHAMBER OF REPUBLICS, PROVINCES ELECTS OFFICERS

LD151941 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1034 GMT 15 May 84

[Summary] Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG) -- The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces today elected Milivoje Stijovic as president of the chamber, and Vasil Tudzarov as its vice president. Their mandate will last 1 year. Following the election they made their formal declaration, and then Milivoje Stijovic thanked for the confidence shown. In a brief speech he said that numerous and complex tasks await the chamber in the next period and expressed the conviction that the chamber will in cooperation with other subjects successfully carry out its obligations.

With Milivoje Stijovic in the chair, the chamber then elected the presidents of the chamber's working bodies. Kemal Halilovic was elected president of the Social Planning and Development Policy Committee; Negre Novakovski, president of the Finance Committee; Drago Susec, president of the Credit and Monetary System Committee; Dusan Gligorijevic, president of the Economic Relations With Foreign Countries Committees; Dr Avdul Kurpejovic, president of the Developing the Economies of Underdeveloped Republics and Autonomous Provinces Questions Committee; Marjan Markovic, president of the Mandate-Immunities Commission; and Petar Buci, president of the Legislative-Legal Commission.

FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEMBERS' BIOGRAPHIES

LD150951 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 15 May 84

["Biographies of Newly Elected Members of the Federal Executive Council" -- TANJUG headline]

[Summary] Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG) -- Janez Zemljaric was born in 1928 and is a Slovene. He has held several sociopolitical positions. At the moment he is a member of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia, a member of the Presidium of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference, and a member of the All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

In the period between 1978 and 1980, he was a member of the Slovene Executive Council and republican secretary of internal affairs. He has been president of the Slovene Executive Council since July 1980.

Jovko Jovkovski was born in 1928 and is a Macedonian. He has held several important sociopolitical positions, including membership of the Presidium and secretary of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Federation of Veterans Associations [SUBNOR] Federal Council. He held several important duties in Macedonian organs and organizations, including the directorship of the Republican Institute for Town Planning, Housing, and Local Matters in the Macedonian Executive Council. He was also vice president and subsequently president of the Macedonian SUBNOR Republican Council.

Raif Dizdarevic was born in 1926 and is a Muslim. In the period between 1945 and 1951, he held several appointments in the state security organs. He spent several years in our diplomatic service. Among other posts, he was embassy secretary and SFRY charge d'affaires in Bulgaria, first secretary of the SFRY Embassy in Moscow and counsellor in the SFRY Embassy in Prague. Between his foreign posts, he held various appointments in the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs. Among others posts, he was an assistant federal secretary of foreign affairs. For several years he worked in the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions. In the period between 1978 and 1982, he was the president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. He has been a delegate in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, and between 15 May 1982 and 15 May 1983 he was president of the SFRY Assembly.

Anto Sucic was born in 1929 in Bosnia-Hercegovina. He has held several important appointments. He was president of the Chamber of Associated Labor of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and president of the City of Sarajevo Assembly. He was vice president of the Organization Committee of the Sarajevo 1984 winter Olympic games. He discharged several sociopolitical functions. Among others, he was a member of the LCY Central Committee, Federal Assembly deputy, deputy and delegate of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and a member of the Sarajevo LC City Committee.

Jernej Jan was born in 1935 and is of Slovene nationality. He has held several sociopolitical positions. He is now, among other things, president of the Coordination Committee attached to the Slovene Executive Council for Associated Labor Organizations engaged in foreign trade business, and president of the Coordination Committee of the Slovene Executive Council responsible for the implementation of the policy of consolidation of the material basis of the Slovene national community in border areas. He has also held several important posts in Slovene organs and organizations. Among others he was assistant federal secretary of foreign trade and vice president of the Slovene Executive Council Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries. He is now a member of the Slovene Executive Council and president of the Slovene Republican Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries.

Dobroslav Culafic was born in 1926 and is of Montenegrin nationality. He has held several sociopolitical functions. Among others, he was secretary of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the LC of Montenegro, and a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. In the period between 1981 and 1982 he was secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. At the Eighth Congress of the LC of Montenegro, he was elected president of the Central Committee of the LC of Montenegro. He discharged several responsible positions in Montenegrin and federal organs and organizations. He was a member of the SFRY Presidency, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, and president of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

Sinisa Korica was born in 1949 in Sremska Mitrovica municipality. In 1978 he was elected a member of the Vojvodina Executive Council and was appointed Vojvodina provincial secretary for market and prices.

In May 1982 he was reelected a member of the Vojvodina Executive Council and appointed president of the Provincial Committee for Social Planning.

Dr Ljubomir Baban was born in 1935 and is of Croat nationality. He has published several learned papers on market policy, marketing, and other economic theory issues. He has held several responsible positions in Croat organs and organizations. Since 1968 he has been director general of the Osijek Industrial and Agricultural Combine.

Mustafa Pljakic was born in 1934 and is of Albanian nationality. He has been a secretary of the Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions, president of the Council of the Federation of Kosovo Trade Unions, and a member of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo. Since April 1983 he has been a delegate of the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Kosovo Assembly and a delegate of the Kosovo Assembly in the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly.

SECOND CROAT PARTY CONFERENCE IN ZAGREB

Vrhovec Opening Address

LD112358 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1831 GMT 11 May 84

[Text] Zagreb, May 11 (TANJUB) -- The rule by the working class means that the system of political power cannot become the holder of state-ownership relations but must instead create the necessary basis for workers to defend themselves against group-ownership, monopolist, bureaucratic, and statist pressures.

Political power in this way becomes a component of the integral system of socialist self-management, since it must rely on it even in "purely" state functions, functions which are themselves increasingly coming under the process of socialization.

Josip Vrhovec, Presidency president of the League of Communists of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, stated the above in his introductory statement at the Second Conference of the LC of Croatia in Zagreb today, Friday.

Vrhovec emphasized that the key question of the further development of socialism in Yugoslavia is the manner of overcoming the country's present economic difficulties, alongside of the struggle for the further strengthening of self-management and of the positions of associated labor within social reproduction.

Vrhovec stressed that the country's economic policy must not yield to transforming the necessary provisional and temporary measures into a permanent conception of increasing state interventions. He said that under the conditions of commodity production and impact of market laws, the rational and efficacious production and competitiveness of Yugoslav-made commodities can be materialized only in a decentralized management of the economy.

Vrhovec pointed out that the present big economic difficulties and deep disturbances within the economy must not draw the society back, fettering the Communists in the doubts of their own strength.

Vrhovec also spoke about the role of Communists in the Yugoslav economy, when he said that the Communists must not be factors of the settlement of material components of production, nor judges in disputes, but, on the other hand, they must not turn themselves into passive observers of economic phenomena.

Croat LC Economic Role Debated

LD121259 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0947 GMT 11 May 84

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 11 May (TANJUG) -- A key question in the further development of our socialism today is how to go about overcoming the current economic difficulties in conjunction with the struggle to further strengthen self-management and the position of associated labor in social reproduction. That effort will depend not only on external factors -- that is a global social influence -- but also on the nature of the relations set up within associated labor. This leads to the tasks of the League of Communists in associated labor, which the Second Conference of the Croat LC is examining. The opening report was submitted by Josip Vrhovec, president of the Croat LC Presidium. In the conference, which will last 2 days, there are about 200 chosen delegates and members of the Croat LC and LCY organs from this republic taking part.

Making it clear that the democratic self-management organization of the workers at all levels of sociopolitical life is the precondition for their ability to be the bearers of socialist development, Vrhovec said that this organization had to take three directions in particular. First, in pooling labor in income-based relations, working on social means of production [as received]; second, in the delegate political sytem as a form of the self-management organization of society applied by exercizing of state authority; and third, as a sociopolitical force organized in the League of Communists, the trade unions, the Socialist Alliance, and so on.

Vrhovec went on to stress that working class power means that the political system cannot be turned into a state-ownership situation, but rather must create the basis for associated workers to defend themselves from group-ownership, monopolistic, bureaucratic, and etatist pressures. In this way political power becomes an integral part of the integral system of socialist self-management, since the latter has to be relied on, even when the "pure" state's functions, which are undergoing socialization more and more, are in question.

Vrhovec devoted the next part of his report to the activity of the League of Communists. In his view, in associated labor it cannot be reduced to just resolving material issues of production, arbitrating in quarrels, deciding about development programs, determining the distribution of income, or coordinating the use of income with the management structures, and so forth. However, it would also be very dangerous to go to the other extreme and accept the thesis that the League of Communists, if it is not deciding and mediating, has nothing to do but become a passive observer or at very best a proselytizer of enlightenment for the working class, or some kind of moral force liberated from concrete historic responsibility.

Experience has shown, said Vrhovec, that if the basic organizations of the League of Communists are closed up in their own basic organizations of associated labor and completely tied to municipal organizations, without any links with other basic organizations, they cannot exert any real influence on overall relations or operations, or the development of broader forms of association. Recalling that permanent action conferences in associated labor have been being constituted for a year now and that this work is not finished, Vrhovec expressed the view that this reinforces the criticism that the mobility and responsibility of Communists in numerous environments has not reached the necessary level.

Vrhovec particularly emphasized that organizations of associated labor are obliged to pool labor and resources for the sake of joint and general social interests, and thus pooling should not be regarded as the investment of capital by one basic organization of associated labor in another, but rather as the pooling of social resources in mutual relations in associated labor.

Newly acquired income must always be returned to the basic organization of associated labor in order to be repooled. This, in Vrhovec's view, is an essential issue, because in this way the process of pooling is not the establishment of capital relations, which still exists in practice, but a way of guaranteeing expanded reproduction.

Recalling further that the 1974 Constitution does not recognize any other form of management, which would be socially or politically independent or alienated from the associated worker and the delegate organization of citizens in the immediate social base, Vrhovec said that this is precisely the reason why the proponents of a multiparty system as a form of "real" democracy direct their criticism against the Constitution and blame it for the "instability" and "lack of democracy" of our sociopolitical system. This is where the views of both those who hope for a bourgeois revival and those who call for the resurrection of dogmatic centralism coincide.

Speaking about the implementation of the system, Vrhovec said that the key question is how in practice to integrate and involve the essential factors which express the character of our socialist system, these being social ownership, the control of the working class, and the right of the worker to work with the social means of production and to manage the conditions and dispose of the results of his labor. Thus this is perhaps one of the main elements of our deep preoccupation in our striving to realize the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization and above all concrete ways of implementing it.

In this connection, Vrhovec stressed two important aspects: First, economic policy measures -- which in the present critical economic situation necessarily mean tightening up the conditions of economic activity -- should be aimed at overcoming instability and what causes it and at building stable conditions. Second, it is critically important that economic policy not be subject to trials, and that the application of certain arbitrary measures as temporary necessities should not become a permanent concept of the strengthening of state intervention.

Arising out of this, in Vrhovec's view, is the basic problem of the moment. If self-management is maintained only within organizations of associated labor, and social reproduction is managed by the state, then our system would be split by a deep and essentially class contradiction, which would lead first to deep stagnation and then to breakdown, and in the end nothing would remain of self-managing socialism as an integral social system.

Speaking in conclusion about the strategy of development, Vrhovec said that the essential task before us is to reaffirm creative labor productivity and on this basis to implement cadre policy consistently.

Noting that today the strength of the economy is measured according to its productive and income-earning power, and that rationalism and efficacy are the top criteria for material progress, Vrhovec said it is important for us to recognize that these goals can be successfully realized in our system of socialist self-management and associated labor. The present major difficulties and deep disturbances should not set us back and enslave us in lack of confidence in our own strength. This realization must be a part of our general social awareness, emphasized Vrhovec.

There is no reason why our communist movement today, even though without Tito, but still inspired and lead by Tito's vision and his work, cannot do this successfully, Josip Vrhovec said in concluding his introductory speech.

The first speaker in the debate, Central Committee member Drago Dimitrovic, from Split, spoke of some aspects of strengthening efficiency in the work of the LC and pointed out that in the past 5 years we have had our ears filled with conceptual attitudes, to which we have to refer time and time again in the face of increasingly aggressive opposition, but that we must wage the real battle in the implementation of our orientations, in particular in the LC activity. Should this not be the case, man becomes passive and passivity is not far from opportunism. This is why the number of LC members, particularly the young ones, is falling, and the ties between the membership and leadership are loose. In particular, in leadership work contradictions and loopholes should be eliminated, Dimitrovic said, and in this context he referred to inconsistencies between some attitudes pronounced at the 20th Central Committee session and those presented in the materials for this conference.

In the afternoon debate of the Second Croatian LC Conference, a large number of delegates presented their local experiences with the development of self-managing socioeconomic relations.

Delegate Ilija Iskric from Sisak advocated greater affirmation of Yugoslav science instead of our buying "wisdom" -- that is, licenses -- abroad and thus becoming dependent on others.

Rajko Skocic, delegate from the Rijeka refinery, proposed that the issues of the functioning of large systems, including the INA [oil industry] composite organization of associated labor, be discussed by the Croat LC Central Committee. He said that in this organization, sale contract-based relations prevail and this results in development problems.

Ivan Puskar, president of the Presidium of the Croatian Trade Union Federation Council, stressed that the existing forms of pooling had not been well set up in many environments. The unresolved question of income from enjoying natural and other rents and of the privileged position of some activities in the economic system leads to pooling not being beneficial for these environments, because one can live well without the results of real work and linking up with organizations of associated labor with weak income becomes risky. Pushkar also pointed out the anomaly of some organizations of associated labor which operate with losses having a better personal income average than those whose business activity is rational and yielding good income.

Speeches were made by Nedjeljko Grabovica from Grubisno Polje, and Ivan Grzetic from Pula, which, though containing critical undertones, evoked spontaneous applause in the hall. Grabovica said he saw the bureaucratization of self-management as a major cause of the passive attitude in workers from whom we demand more responsible behavior at their jobs, while they, for their part, demand responsibility for numerous errors, starting from those "in local communities right up to Obrovac." He advocated greater powers for workers' councils and other organs of self-management in the sphere of work relations and in particular greater responsibility because, as he said, behind the major errors are real persons with Christian names and surnames. Grzetic spoke in a similar vein and stressed that it was not enough to elect delegates and delegations if we do not at the same time take stock of the way resources, for joint consumption, which workers set aside, are spent.

Ante Roje from Split dealt with the position of work organizations which operate at a loss, above all, due to administrative measures, when one cannot speak of self-management because in these organizations everything is laid down and decided beforehand and only crumbs are left for real self-management.

Draga Zgrabec from Cakovec pointed out that subjective weaknesses in the process of pooling labor and resources are not analyzed enough and thus the leading structures in organizations of associated labor at a higher level of organization put forward proposals which, in offering the formation of united work organizations allegedly in the interest of workers, deprive workers of their self-managing rights in acquiring and distributing income.

Second Day's Proceedings

LD121841 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1140 GMT 12 May 84

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 12 May (TANJUG) -- The Croatian LC Conference resumed this morning the debate on the tasks of the LC in the development of socioeconomic relations in associated labor.

Bozidar Vojnovic, delegate from Zagreb, noted that little has yet been done by science to implement the stabilization policy. He believes that science can develop only within the framework of large systems of general social significance, such as the power industry, post, telegraph and telephone, railways, and the like. In his words, in scientific circles, the elitist view about science being above the daily trends and that science is an object in itself is present. Vojnovic believes that this is an ideological situation, and thus he proposed that the Central Committee discuss in particular the place of science in society at one of its forthcoming sessions.

Marko Belinic, a guest of the conference, advocated differentiation within the LC on the basis of the work and contribution to the struggle for the stabilization, and the broader presence of the young people in all areas of society, which, in his view, is one of the strategic issues.

Asim Jusufbegovic from Slavonski Brod advocated that conditions be created for associated labor to have a greater say in the allocation of income, because only thus can fresh moves be made in the self-managing pooling of labor and resources. Ivan Babic from Split spoke about the mood of the young. He pointed out that a growing number of them do not want to be admitted to the LC, and that this is the consequence of a slow change in socioeconomic relations. The young are not interested in stories and repetition of empty phrases, but demand action in which people will forgive us our errors but not deviation from the course.

Djordje Kupresak, delegate of the Trnje municipal organization in Zagreb, in his ex tempore speech, expressed dissatisfaction about problems being constantly noted but not resolved. He advocated datelines to be set for performing the tasks set, and that the consequences of not performing them withia the datelines be borne. In this context he commented on the program orientation of the Croatian LC Central Committee in the 1-year period on account of it being too voluminous and demanded that priorities, which could be realistically implemented, be established. Speaking about the mood of the young generation, he presented the example of his own environment where the young people refuse to enter the LC by saying that they do not want to be admitted until certain matters in the LC are changed. Another delegate who also took part in the debate was Dominik Horvat, while nine delegates submitted their comments in writing.

The conference participants then unanimously adopted the program orientation for the work of the Central Committee in the next 1-year period.

Summing up the 2-day debate, Marijan Kalanj, secretary of the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium, stressed that the very fact that 58 delegates participated in the debate and that 12 submitted their contributions in writing, showed that a broad insight into the state and problems was gained, and into the way the Constitution and the delegate system were implemented, what the role of the LC is and what should be done next.

Kalanj noted that activity has recently been intensified in a number of LC organizations, but that there are organizations which have not even discussed pooling and even less done something about it. With reference to the pooling of labor and resources, Kalanj correctly noted that examples of this are few and far between, and that there is very little reference to them. He also stressed the fact that most of the pooling process is carried out within a municipality, and that that there are very few which go beyond a municipality. Initiatives for pooling of labor and resources come mainly from outside organizations of associated labor. The conference unfortunately did not discuss to any significant extent whether the LC is organized in a relevant manner and whether it is trained to lead these processes.

Kalanj then also drew attention to the information that admission of workers and young people to the LC has been falling in the last 2 years and that mostly workers are leaving the LC. Some LC committees have not respected the criteria, and thus among the delegates at this gathering as well there are fewer workers than should have been. Who is it who curbs workers and does not make it possible for them to (7go) forward and why, Kalanj asked, and added that the Central Committee will have to reply to this question soon.

Kalanj went on to note that the LC has recently been relying increasingly on state organs, and that it is not in sufficient evidence among the working class. Yet, at the same time, the LC authority is used to adopt many decisions and when it comes to errors, then the LC is blamed for them.

At the end of his speech, Kalanj stressed that no crisis situation of any kind could be a pretext for a revision of our fundamental orientations, and that this must be in evidence in day-by-day actions of the LC.

Marijan Kalanj then informed the delegates of the conference that Mika Spiljak and Stanko Stojcevic have been proposed as president and secretary of the Croatian LC Presidium respectively, and that the election will be held at the session of the Presidium on Monday, 14 May.

Spiljak Croatia LC President

LD141407 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1300 GMT 14 May 84

[Text] Zagreb, May 14 (TANJUG) -- Presidency of Yugoslavia President Mika Spiljak, 68, whose mandate in this collective state body expires tomorrow, was elected today, Monday, the Presidency president of the League of Communists of the Yugoslav Constituent Republic of Croatia. The republican party post to which Mika Spiljak was elected today carries a one-year term of office.

The new Republic of Croatia League of Communists Presidency president is an experienced politician who, among his other offices, was also the Yugoslav premier and the president of the Yugoslav Trade Union Confederation.

The proclamation of the new Presidency of Yugoslavia will take place tomorrow at the Assembly of Yugoslavia. The representative of Croatia in the new state Presidency will be Josip Vrhovec.